SLEEPING DRAGON PRESS

winter 2000.

victoria · bc · COAST SALISH TERRITORY

issue 4

CALENDAR

December

Vancouver:
Co-op Radio's Moving Book and Record Sale, December 18th-21st - everyday from 12-6 Location: at the Station - 337 Carrall Street
Description: All-you-can-stuff books and records into a regular-sized grocery bag for only $10. We also have lots of CDs for $4 and tapes for $2 each. Come down and help us start the move to new studios. Call 684-8494 for more info...See you there!

January

January 1st. New Years Day Levy. A tradition in which city halls and lieutenant governer's house is opened up to the "common folk" for free food and refreshments....now we're not suggesting mischievous "common folk" go and raise shit with politicians and the rich and eat well but...well, we're just tellin' ya whats goin on...kay.

Victoria:
Anti-FTAA meeting– organizing for Quebec 2001, Jan 18th, 7pm @ the FCA, 1923 Fernwood Road

Vancouver:
Community Meeting - Vancouver's proposed Framework for Action
Saturday, January 6 - 2-4:30, Kiawassa Neighbourhood House (2425 Oxford)
Description: A panel representing different community groups will each talk for an allotted time about their perspectives. After the panel, the meeting will be thrown open for questions and discussion. The event is organized by the Circle of Hope Coalition Society. For more information, please call Jim Leyden at 215-2287.

Meeting - Building a Coalition in Solidarity with the Aspirations of Palestinian People, Monday, January 8
Location: Mount Pleasant Neighbourhood House (800 E Broadway) -Room #3

Meeting - Rebuilding the Left, day of workshops and meetings, Saturday, January 13th, Location: TBA
contact rayhab@iprimus.ca for more info or to help organize.

Activate: An Activist Skills Training Camp, January 18-21st, Location: Keats Island Camp - across from the sunshine coast
Description: This event, organized by Check Your Head is open by application. Please see the posting on this site for more info or call (604) 685-6631. Camp fee is $25.

February

Victoria:
February 13 and 14th. Salim Shawamreh and Jee Halper, a couple of Israeli and Palestinian activists with the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) who are on a national tour raising awareness and mobilizing action to stop the house demolitions and related policies.
Location TBA
Contact: Bobby @ 598-0797

Tao regional in Victoria during the second weekend of February. Keep yer head up for details.

ONGOING

Friends of the Elaho: meets every Tuesday at 7:00 at the TAO/IMC Space, 303 West Hastings

TAO Vancouver: meets every other Wednesday at 7:00at the TAO/IMC Space, 303 West Hastings - see http://vancouver.tao.ca for up to date schedule.

Critical Mass - Last Friday of EVERY month-5pm @ Vancouver Art Gallery. Bring bikes, noisemakers (bike bell!), costumes, food, music, more people, other human powered transportation, ideas, furniture, trailors, puppets...
http://www.monkeywrenchcafe.org/cm

Radical Reading Group - a critical, radical analysis of various texts. the group meets about once per month.
check their site for more details.
http://vancouver.tao.ca/radread/
Food Not Bombs every Sat. 12-1 at the fountain on 5th st. by the library in Courtenay, B.C., free vegan food and reading material.

Cafe Simpatico every 2nd Friday at 8pm, Fernwood Community Association 1923 Fernwood Road, Victoria.

Black Cat Cafe 2nd Sunday of every month, revolutionary open stage starts 8pm @ the Fernwood Community Association, 1923 Fernwood Road, Victoria.

Emma Goldman Playgroup, Mondays 2-5, Fridays 11-2 @ the Fernwood Community Association, 1923 Fernwood Road, Victoria.

Thanks to Tao (vancouver.tao.ca) for email and web space and for being very cool folks...check out the new Tao/ Independent Media Center 303 West Hastings , Vancouver BC

TAO Communications
a federation of collectives and individuals involved in radical progressive activism, social work, research and communications
current projects:
SAN Student Activist Network san.tao.ca
DAMN Direct Action Media Network damn.tao.ca
media distribution network by and for direct action organisers and participants
Network Services for Radical Communities
events.tao.ca - calendar
add your rad events wherever they are
major.tao.ca - e-mail lists
join or create e-mail fora
new.tao.ca - new members
pay-what-you-can e-mail and websites
A-Infos - www.ainfos.ca
international multi-lingual anarchist-organised newswire service
www.tao.ca

WINTER 2000

SLEEPING DRAGON PRESS

ISSUE 4

Anthany Dawson Inquest

Recommendations arrive but Justice does not! Family Disappointed but Determined Further Action Is Planned

December 3rd, 2000
News and Comment by Tehaliwaskenhas - Bob Kennedy, Oneida
Publisher, Turtle Island Native Network www.turtleisland.org
Http://www.turtleisland.org/news/AD-DEC3.htm

The jury in the Anthany Dawson coroners inquest in Victoria, British Columbia has ruled his death was accidental. Perhaps to a fault, jury members followed the instructions from Coroner Diane Olson who reminded them this was "fact finding and not fault finding".

More than fifteen months after his death, a jury of two men and two women deliberated for more than twelve hours before bringing down recommendations directed at the police, hospital and paramedics --- calling for obvious improvements. (At the beginning of the inquest there were five jurors, but one of two Native jurors was released from duty early on because of medical reasons.)

Eight witnesses testified during the inquest about a police officer punching Anthany but the Coroner and the jury refused to address the specific issue of force or alleged brutality. Perhaps they did indirectly when they said a contributing factor in Anthany's death was how the police and paramedics restrained him. But because of 'wall-to-wall lawyers', the jury's hands were tied. As community member Alex Nelson said during closing remarks, "You did your best." His prayers were aimed at offering a healing message and encouraging people to move forward.

But the family is left with too many unanswered questions, and now wants a public inquiry. Already a wrongful death lawsuit against the police, hospital, paramedics and others, has been filed in the Supreme Court of British Columbia.

The Dawson family and the Aboriginal community believe there's been an obvious cover-up by 'the system'. Even John Orr, Coroner's counsel points out the Victoria Police Department has yet to do any internal review of the situation at all, and has not adequately addressed the family's concerns about racism and brutality.

What exactly happened to Anthany Dawson on Oak Bay Avenue? That was the key issue at this inquest. Or it should have been.

On that sunny but sad day August 11th, 1999 eight citizens who just happened to see Anthany on the road, saw a police officer walk up to Anthany and punch him in the head. While they varied as to whether Anthany was punched 1,2,3 or 4 times they were consistent that he was in fact punched.

While police lawyers lined up to try and discredit this evidence, it became clear that 8 people could not be mistaken. How could it be said that 8 people were mistaken and they all made exactly the same mistake?

The police officer later took the stand and testified that he did not punch Anthany at all. All 8 citizens were mistaken.

Against the 8 witnesses, the police officer's sworn evidence that he only decided to have contact with Anthany in order to help him, sounded more ironic than candid.

On the one hand he said he was afraid of on-coming traffic hitting Anthany. Then he said in cross-examination that he did nothing to try and stop traffic around Anthany.

But, ultimately, the fundamental

Continued on page 15

please send donations to help cover the huge legal costs to Anthany Dawson Legal Defense Fund c/o Nancy Dawson 113-1492 Admirals Rd, Victoria BC, V9A 2R1Dawson Legal Defense Fund c/ o Nancy Dawson 113-1492 Admirals Rd, Victoria BC, V9A 2R1

Hunters Harass Activist

First part from Cansolidated #7
consolidated@tao.ca, tao.ca/~resist

On Oct 26th the Black Cat Video Night in Courtenay, Vancouver Island, was disrupted and the host, David Barbarash, targeted by up to two dozen hunting guide outfitters and supporters. An animal rights video evening was being held as part of the continuing event held regularly at the Bar None café. The patrons and the staff felt threatened and scared when "at least two dozen men stormed into the place" intent on shutting the event down.

Last month David saw charges he was facing of mailing razor blades to hunting guides and people in the fur industry dropped – was hosting the Black Cat Video series at the Bar None, a local restaurant known as a centre for social activism.

David writes…
'The evening didn't go off as planned due to the invasion of a 'lynch mob' of mostly hunters from neighbouring Campbell River 45 km north. About ten minutes before we were set to begin, about two dozen enraged hunters and their buddies invaded the Bar None Cafe with shouting and disruptive behaviour. They were there clearly to shut down the evening and to prevent alternative views of compassion and action for animal rights from being aired and discussed.
In the process of their invasion they intimidated people into leaving and prevented people from entering by blocking the doorway with their bodies. Their presence was extremely aggressive and frightening.
They produced and displayed signs outside the cafe which had my picture with the label "violent" and "eco-terrorist" on it. They urinated on my vehicle. They levelled verbal death threats against myself and the person taking money at the door. Later I found two bullets wedged in the upper crack of my car door.
After one of the owners of the cafe got most of them to calm down I proceeded with a much abridged version of the video night, showing only two of the many films I had brought. There was no discussion on animal rights amongst the people who showed up for that purpose, nor were the stories of intense RCMP harassment told.
The fallout from the evening will continue for some time, as these Hunters seem determined to vilify me in the media, with the ultimate goal, I believe, of running me out of town."

Bar None Café Caves In To Hunters

Follow-up from David Barbarash:

The Bar None Cafe ownership capitulated to threats of an economic boycott campaign three weeks later when they decided to cease hosting the video nights. The hunting and resource industries placed a minute amount of pressure on the ownership, and lacking any personal or political integrity the event was turfed. Never mind that hunters and their buddies are the least likely to patronize a vegetarian restaurant. Never mind that animal rights issues are not routinely presented in the video forums. Never mind that the video nights brought the cafe to full capacity on each occasion. Never mind that the Bar None purports itself to be commited to social justice issues.

To add incredible insult to injury, one of the owners chose to vilify me in the press when he sent a press release about the Black Cat cancellation, and gave at least two subsequent newspaper interviews. They chose to slam me publicly even though there was never any public comment from me in regard to the Bar None cancellation….

...The good news is that I will be starting up the video series in the new year, but not in Courtenay. I will be joining with the monthly Black Cat Cafe in Victoria held the second Sunday every month at the Fernwood Community Centre. I'm looking forward to bringing alternative news and views to a community which can appreciate what these videos offer, and who will not close their minds, or their hearts, to important social justice, environmental and animal rights issues.

Greetings,
Solstice is here and as for the new year...burn, burn, burn. (and please send us your new years party invitations) But on to the serious stuff...we're broke, very broke. The state seems to have overlooked our grant applications, so we're calling all sugar mommas/daddys to rescue us...It's been a year since Seattle and we're still waiting for the revolution... Cheers to all who didn't vote or thought outside the box and spoiled your ballots...our hearts go out to Nancy Dawson who inspired all of us with her courage in continuing to fight for justice after her son's death at the hands of the Victoria police (see box above for legal support donations!)... And speaking of courage, Betty Krawczyk, a 72-year-old great grandmother, is still serving a record setting 1 year sentence for blockading Interfor in the Elaho Valley. How about a New Years resolution to give this courageous gal some jail support (See page 11 for Friends of The Elaho contact info)...sigh, we do love this little newspaper and to show us you do too, please send us that which makes it happen: Articles, Art, Letters and Stuff. We have all the long dark winter as well, to dream and plan away for spring and Québec (FTAA...you know the drill.) Here's to the (k)new year and stayin' warm.
Love,
Sleeping Dragon Collective

Our address is:
Box 8404, Victoria BC, V8W 3S1
Or email us at resist@dojo.tao.ca

ps SLEEPING DRAGON IS ON THE INTERNET !!!!
tao.ca/~resist/sleeping_dragon_press.html

Invisible Lines: Supporting Radical and Anarchist Prisoners

by Megan (megan@tao.ca)

Two and a half years ago, a very close friend of mine was arrested for a violent offense. At the time, I didn't realize how much his arrest, conviction and jail time would change my perception of the activist scene in Canada and (the lack of) prison support available for anarchist prisoners convicted of "non-political" crimes.

"Eric" was arrested in the spring of 1998 and has been in jail ever since (he was denied bail on the basis he was a "flight risk"). Right now it looks like he may likely do another two and a half years at which point he reaches his statutory release date. After that, he will still have three more years of probation to do.

It feels odd to me that this person, who I have known for over a decade, must now always be defined by one action. Whenever I mention Eric and the fact I have gone for a jail visit or had a phone conversation that was intense for me - the first question asked is - "what did he do?" I don't want this to be the definition of my friend - but it becomes that as soon as I verbalize his charges.

This is what I tell people, its the short version because I can never remember anything beyond this: "Eric is in jail because he was attacked and defended himself in a fight. In that process his attacker was killed. Originally charged with first degree murder, he plead and was sentenced on a manslaughter charge citing self-defence. For that, he received a sentence of eight years."

I feel this should suffice as a way of explaining the charges and conviction. Unfortunately I am often pressed for further details of both people involved, the events leading up to the stabbing and my interpretation of what type of a person Eric was and is. It's really just societal upbringing by news media and "true-crime" television shows giving us the most explicit and horrific details of any crime - yet simultaneously refusing to contextualize crime within the larger society. It is frustrating though because I feel that not only is my friend on trial by the questioner, but so am I and that leads to the questioning of my personal choice to remain friends with someone who has taken the life of another. Among the Anarchist/Political community, I am always shocked by this attitude which mimics societal voice rather than examining it for what it is.

Instead of discussing the specifics of an event I didn't witness and therefore could never understand - I would rather talk about who he is and what I have learned by witnessing the political community's reaction to one of their own comrades being sentenced to hard time. Like many working class men and women who are in jail, my friend's story is really one of his own poor background and a set of unfortunate circumstances leading to a fight in an alleyway in Toronto. As a long time anarchist and activist - his contributions in the street and radical communities were many and varied.

Eric, like many of us, has been in and out of radical communities across Canada for over fifteen years - always an anarchist, and always a fighter for justice. He has run a needle exchange from his house, worked with street youth, and fought hard against racism, poverty and the Mike Harris Tories. Well known in activist circles - he is regarded for his honesty and integrity and the fact he will back up what he says with action when necessary. He continues to be a person motivated to fight injustice where it occurs and he continues to try to play the role of community "protector" from inside the prison where he now lives.

When he was arrested in spring 1998 - I thought it better that he await his trial in Ontario (he was arrested in BC and then flown back to east to stand trial). I reasoned that because he would be in the Don Jail in Toronto and there are many folks out there from the "community" who I thought were solid - he would have supporters, and visits on a regular basis.

But, there's something about getting charged with first degree murder that seems to keep people away. For a long time I heard nothing from Eric, and so I would talk to other people who knew him and were familiar with the case from what had passed through the rumour mill.What struck me the hardest was how quickly everyone had concluded that because he had been charged by the police - he was definitely guilty.

Throughout the investigation and leading up to the trial it turned out that 26 different people gave statements to the police although none of those people had any idea what had happened the night of the fight. Many of those 26 people consider themselves politically solid, and I'm sure saw no harm in the statements they gave. I still am at a loss to explain why that many people within the political/anarchist community felt the need to speak with the police when they were under no legal obligation to. One person I spoke with was extremely defensive - blaming Eric for "putting the political community in danger" by his reckless actions, thus justifying her statement to the police.

Back to my original point about the lack of visits- it turned out that Eric spent a whole year in the Don Jail in the middle of Toronto (Lights on 24-7, crowded, noisy, and dangerous. Suicide is a regular occurrence in this ancient prison that bakes in the summer and freezes in the winter). Almost no one visited. I was told that the political community was divided - some people thought that he was guilty (pre-judged) and wouldn't visit, others thought he was innocent, but still didn't visit. Other than a few people - his only supporters in the courtroom at pretrial were a few friends and family who had flown from BC to be with him.

At pretrial, he plead guilty to manslaughter and thus eliminated the need for a trial which ended Eric's time at the Don Jail. In Ontario, being sentenced to federal time means a three month assessment spent at Millhaven Institution. This is where Eric went immediately following his sentencing,and where he spent three months in 23-hour a day lockup - denied reading material and most interaction with the outside world. The one hour a day prisoners are allowed out of their cells,they are expected to have yard time, shower and make phone calls. During this period I heard from him weekly but we would never talk for more than 5 minutes because of the conditions. I wrote him letters but he couldn't reply owing to a lack of paper or stamps that are difficult to get.

Still - no visitors. Likewise, when he transferred to Fenbrook - a newer and nicer place (where he could even cook his own food) - no visitors.

No visitors, no letters - no contact with those people who at one time would have considered themselves part of his "community".

That's not to say that Eric has no supporters or friends. Outside of the activist community - there are people that help out by putting money into his account and bringing him items he needs. A few months ago, he was transferred to a facility in BC which has put him closer physically to the folks who have supported him most. That means more visits and phone calls (even though he is still out in the middle of nowhere and getting there is difficult).

For some time, I have wanted to put voice to the issues and emotions I have encountered since Eric went to jail. Not really to point out the injustices that exist in the system (because we all know that they do), and not to tell Eric's story for him (he is perfectly capable of speaking for himself) - but because of what I have learned throughout these two and a half years.

It has become clear to me that not enough people in the radical community are familiar with security culture and their rights (to not speak to the police and to refuse to give evidence to the state). Following that - a surprising number of people have forgotten that state accusation does not mean someone is necessarily guilty.

Unfortunately, the same social conditioning that makes people willing to talk to the police also produces the same opinion of prisoners. Just like everyone else in society, radicals are extremely prejudiced towards "prisoners". For a long time I refrained from talking about my friend - not because I was ashamed - but because other people tried to make me ashamed of him. It never seems to be enough when I give the abbreviated version of Eric's charges and conviction - there is still the silent pressure and side comments to remind me that people generally want to know every last detail of the night in question - as if that is their concern.

I think generally there is a fear of dealing with prisoners among activists. The wildly exaggerated ideas about prisoners that we are fed by the media is replicated strongly even in some of the most politically straight up people. Because of the class position that so many activists come from - there is a general unwillingness to deal with the "lower-class" elements that tend to end up in prison. That general unwillingness translates into the fact that an overwhelming majority of radicals have never been inside a prison on a visit to any kind of prisoner. And while there is some support out there for folks who are convicted for politically motivated actions, there are no support networks set up for political people convicted of "ordinary" crimes.

My roommate reminded me last week what it means to be a radical with regards to prisoners. He offered to take me out on my next visit to the jail in the middle of nowhere (a 2-hour drive each way) and that he wanted to attend the visit with me. Only a few people have offered to visit Eric with me - its not something anyone thinks to do really - though it is about the most grounded way to assist with the social support that we all need to give to the our comrades in chains.

In an era where activists are being arrested more frequently and given longer sentences - our ability to support our prisoners and ultimately all prisoners is something that movements need to develop.

- Radical or anarchist prisoner in this context refers to a radical or anarchist who is in prison for any crime. When I use the term political prisoner I am referring to people who are in jail for convictions on politically motivated activities.
- For more on security culture - http://security.tao.ca/personal

Some Local Resources

Joint Effort
PO Box 78005
2606 Commercial Drive
Vancouver, BC
V5N 5W1
jointeffort@homestead.com
(Support and advocacy group for women in prison)

Strength in Sisterhood
PO Box 184-3456 Dunbar Street
Vancouver, BC
V6S 2C2
(Advocacy group for women in prison)

Books 2 Prisoners
PO Box 78005
2606 Commercial Drive
Vancouver, BC
V5N 5W1
(Free books to prisoners)

Web-sites

Prison activist
www.prisonactivist.org/
Anarchist Black Cross
www.burn.ucsd.edu/~abcf
Prisoners Justice Day Committee
www.vcn.bc.ca/august10/resources.html

Sometimes when I walk down the street, different images go through my head, images of me kicking the shit out of men. I attack the soft parts of their bodies. Thumbs through the eyes or I'm ripping off balls. I imagine that they are trying to rape me and I pretend to be unconscious until the right moment, seconds before penetration I destroy my enemy. Other days I walk down the street and am driven by paranoia. Someone is following me and every man I pass, I get flashes of ultra violent imagery. Images of being brutally raped. The men on the sidewalk enter my mind, sometimes they have friends with them and they all laugh and have fun as they pin me down. Sometimes there is a lot of blood. Sometimes I am squirming and shrieking in terror and other times I just stare deep into their eyes, looking back at them, stone cold. Every once in a while I will escape. Then I blink and it ends, until I pass some one else. It could happen all day, all day every day for a week or it might not happen for a year. I'm always waiting for it.

I went through many phases before I knew what I was dealing with. I spent a lot of my earlier years sitting on the bathroom floor playing with razors. Staring at my reflection, flipping it through my fingers or cutting myself. I would watch the grey blade enter the soft pink flesh, disappearing when the red blood came. Pain I controlled, something in life that was my own, bridging the gap between my body and myself. As sort of meditation.

A counselor told me that it takes years for some womyn to realize the impact of sexual assault, for me it hit all at once. I had a hard time finishing school, I broke off my relationship and could hardly hold a job. I created room in my life to have a well-needed nervous breakdown. I finally went into myself without the use of drugs or pain. What I saw was a black gooey entity engulfing my reproductive organs. It would bubble and every once in awhile a bubble would break off and make its way into my head, bursting and I would wail. Wailing helped because I could hear pain leaving my body; it was like puking up air. Air that was made up of the hate and rage fucked into me by men who assaulted me. The bubbles that rose where pieces of that hate releasing itself from me. I felt like a flake. I couldn't describe or understand this entity logically so I felt that no one would understand. ' Anyone got a pin, I'm trying to burst a bubble of misogyny that's occupying my uterus?' There was a war going on in my belly and all I could do was wait and let my enemy dissolve. I alone had to put the pieces back together. A rebirth. Alone. I had no idea how long it was going to take, when I started to feel accomplished, madness would occur, I had no control. It would be flashbacks during sex and I would forget whom I was fucking or my body would get turned on during rape scenes in movies or continuous violent daydreams. My body had a mind of it's own, reacting in ways that horrified me, without my permission. It was ultimate betrayal.

Each incident meant taking time to look inside myself and feel whatever I was feeling, no matter how terrifying. I was chased out of my body so many years ago and now I had to find my way back and make amends. The battle is not between me and the people who assaulted me, I will never see them again.

> The battle is with myself, waged by the men who assaulted me.

What kept me sane was meeting other womyn who could talk about their process and knowing that every person was different. Womyn would walk into my life and tell me their struggle, one womyn I will never forget. She moved into my building and after a couple of days we started hanging out. She told me she couldn't work and when I asked her why she explained that sometimes she accidentally shits her pants. Her father and his brothers would take her into the barn when she was a preteen and would sodomize her. Now she was coming to terms with it and how much it affected her life. She couldn't hold a job, she had trouble having sex and sometimes she couldn't leave the house. So we should sit together and talk about all our deranged thoughts. We would marvel at finding each other and talk about how many other womyn live like we did, compensating for our secrets. We came to the conclusion that we were not going to let the men who so adamantly tried to destroy us, destroy us. We realized you either fought or died. We chose to fight for our body's back, to love ourselves despite the rage that infested them. Then she left, one month later, leaving me with love and a hero. I will never talk to her again but I know she exists in struggle, like me. Like other womyn who have crossed my path.

As time passes the healing always evolves, constantly challenging me, building me. I have no regrets. These things will and have always have been a part of my life, like old habits. I told myself when I put down the razor that I was going to become invisible. I was going to turn the rage of the deranged men who assaulted me and utilize it along side my rage. I would find all of my pieces and examine them all as I put myself back together. I embraced the dark experiences so that they exemplified the light experiences. I am reborn from violence and learn from my fear so that I can embrace what is life.

So the systematic sexism and rape culture has backfired to a certain extent.

Its violence was my right of passage into womynhood, my ceremony leaving me far from naivety, ripping me open to reality. That ceremony made me strong and motivates me to discover all that it means to be a woman. It allows me the courage and dedication to use my anger to dismantle this system that shaped me. I am getting to know myself inside out, my strengths and weaknesses. I want to know what the patriarchy fears so much that it will wage such oppression. I am comforted by the fact that I am not alone. We have all adapted to deal with violence, to survive.

We've heard womyn's stories before, we've all seen the TV movie series where the womyn is brutally raped and then goes through the emotional court case to find some sort of justice. What we don't see is tangible solutions in our own communities. People don't really talk about how to prevent sexual assault where there are no definitive lines of punishment. We wait for it to happen and then it eventually washes itself away, for everyone but the people involved. None of the womyn I meet feels that safe about coming out, there is still this deep-rooted guilt for having been assaulted in the first place, especially among feminists, because we should have known better. People have told me that they think that my story is simply unbelievable, I mean who get's raped four times in one life, I must have done something..... silence perpetuates violence, we all know that but we are still silent, and I live in a 'progressive' community. And people still get assaulted in my community. The fact is that it is the survivor's choice to come out and tell her/his story. Why is that not happening? Why don't they feel safe in doing so? We all perpetuate myths around sexual violence because we don't have the forum to discuss things like safe space, mediation for those involved, resources for healing and healthy ways of counseling or confronting people who assault. Why don't women of communities create harm reduction models? Why don't men of communities create groups to deal with violent/sexual offenders? How do we expect men to heal? Why do we expect womyn to deal with abusers as well as those abused? Isn't the base of a utopian society taking responsibility? Even in the city I live in the sexual assault center is extremely conservative. Sexual assault is not conservative and most of the womyn who are sexually assaulted are not conservative so where do they all go to for support? Without dealing with sexual assault we perpetuate sexism in our communities. Sexual violence is as old as war and is one of the bases for sexual oppression and sexism. Pro-feminist men still assault womyn, they still want power over womyn. If we want to live without the evils of the legal system then we have to create our own answers. In order for that we have to start talking, we have to start taking responsibility for our lack of action and our sexism. When dealing with all systematic isms, we all have to realize that we are carrying those isms. 'Progressive', is a word that we have labeled ourselves, as far as basic social behavior goes, we are far from it. It's time to disturb the peace, because in reality there is no fucking peace, anyone who has been assaulted can tell you that. THERE IS NO PEACE.

Survivors are gifted with the opportunity of rebirth. We get a chance to build ourselves back up from being destroyed. We get a chance to examine our scars. We can use the scars of oppression and make a map out of them. To get from here to there, to build strength and wisdom. To support, protect, and learn about love and fear. To build relationships with men out of respect for our strength so they can stop fearing us. To build relationships with each other, so that we can start respecting female qualities. We can create discussion out of conflict and stop stigmatizing womyn. The power struggles we all bitch about won't stop affecting us until we admit that we are affected. Womyn are a force to be reckoned with, or we wouldn't have been raped in the first place. Solidarity forever.

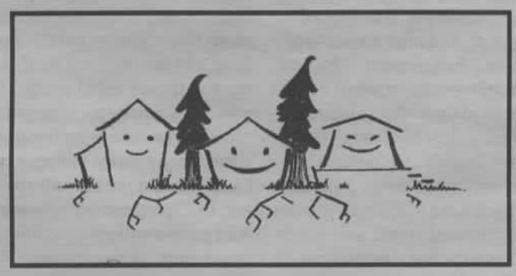
SOLID ROOFS AND AUTONOMOUS ROOTS HOUSING COOPERATIVE

A cooperative is an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise. Housing cooperatives are a type of service cooperative in which the members are the residents and thereby the consumers of the service, in this case housing, provided by the co-op. In other words, roofs and roots owns the property and then 'rents' the housing to the individual members. As with other cooperatives, roofs and roots is owned and controlled by the members and follows, to various degrees, the International Cooperative Principles. Every member purchases one, or more, $25 share and signs an occupancy agreement which gives them legal and exclusive right to occupy a dwelling unit according to the agreement layed out by the cooperative. Each member has one vote, in roofs and roots all our decision making in council (board of directors) is done by consensus. Members are responsible for the management of the housing. They may delegate certain responsibilities to their elected council members, set up committees made up of members and/or hire staff to carry out some of the many tasks involved in ensuring the smooth long-term operation and maintenance of the housing.

Housing cooperatives vary drastically depending on the membership, the kind of housing provided, and the historical, political and economic nature of the society in which the housing is located. Roofs and roots has five radical, hard working, fed-up-of-this-f*!'n-poverty-cycle womyn as members so far, who want to create affordable secure healthy housing. The political nature of the society in which this housing is to be located is, anarchistic, defiantly anti-capitalist and dedicated to diverse happy community. The economic nature of this society in which the housing is to be located is what is making this so difficult. In Victoria 2/3 of the housing is rental, many people pay over 50% of their income on rent and many others have no income and no roof to pay rent for. This is an injustice that must stop. Roofs and Roots core values begin with the health of or members, our communities and the earth. The basic requirements for human beings to live are food, water, and shelter. We believe these basic requirements of life should be rights for everyone but until everyone has equal access to food, water and shelter these basics will remain privileges available only to those who can afford them. Environmental and community sustainability are central to our co-op concept. Our plan is that every house will have space and support provided for an organic garden to ensure food security for all our members. Education and expansion of affordable secure houses is also important to enable Roots and Roofs to "take this place over like a weed". By working with the Community Land Trust Foundation of BC to design land trust agreements all land will be held, in perpetuity, for affordable housing purposes forever.

Roofs and Roots goal is to acquire a diversity of housing to meet our members' diverse needs; some communal situations, some individual suites etc. housing that is suitable for young to old, and everybody in-between. We are currently working on purchasing our first house. It is a huge old house that sits beside a well kept garden. This one will be a communal house with one individual suite. Can you envision what our next house will look like? A farm, an apartment, the house you are living in and love now? There is a lot of work to be done; business plans, fundraising, sending out grant proposals, incorporation papers, cooperative structures and self education. If you are interested in more information, becoming involved or even simply becoming a member our e-mail is roofsandroots@yahoo.com or send us a letter PO Box 8137, Vic. BC V8W 3R8 or keep your eyes on this paper for updates and events.

some guy
some guy plus a house
some guy plus a house plus you
some guy plus a house plus you equals:
you pay some guy to live in his other house
you pay off his mortgage (maybe even for a trip to Hawaii) he owns the house
he gets back, kicks you out of the house you live in, then sells the house you paid for and painted so perfectly to . . . some other guy
you end up in some other guys house
HUH?
this is just one of many answers to the same equation
YOU ARE SCREWED



Clemency for Leonard Peltier!

Leonard Peltier is an Indigenous rights activist who has been unjustly imprisoned for over 24 years, despite the total lack of evidence against him. He is considered by Amnesty International to be a political prisoner who should be "immediately and unconditionally released." Formerly withheld evidence, casting serious doubt on Mr. Peltier's guilt, forced the government to admit that they could not prove who was actually guilty of the crime he was convicted of and yet, he remains behind bars. Because he was unfairly targeted due to his key role in the American Indian Movement, Leonard Peltier is widely seen as a symbol of the US government's attempts to silence those seeking positive change for Native communities. Rigoberta Menchu, the National Congress of American Indians, the Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and the Dalai Lama are only a few of his respected supporters. Now Leonard Peltier is facing the most critical time ever in his campaign for freedom and indeed his life. His only chance for a near future release lies in the hands of President Clinton, through a grant of Executive Clemency. Now is the time for us to send a positive and united message that Leonard Peltier should be free. .

Peltier-the Canadian Dimension

Leonard Peltier was extradited from Canada on the basis of an affidavit signed by Myrtle Poor Bear, a local Native American woman known to have serious mental problems. She claimed to have been Mr. Peltier's girl friend at the time, and to have been present during the shoot out, and to have witnessed the murders. In fact she did not know Mr. Peltier, nor was she present at the time of the shooting. She later confessed she had given the false statement after being pressured and terrorized by FBI agents, one of whom had also been involved in the falsification of Mr. Moves Camp's testimony earlier. Myrtle Poor Bear sought to testify in this regard at Leonard Peltier's trial. The judge barred her testimony on the grounds of mental incompetence. Nothing was done with regards to the illegal extradition. (Myrtle Poor Bear had also been forced to sign a similar affidavit against yet another local Native American named Dick Marshall. Again she claimed to have been his girl friend, and linked him to a separate murder. This too she recanted.) The Liberal Justice Minister Anne McClennen conducted a review in the late nineties examining whether the Canadian Government had been lied to by the FBI in order to obtain the extradition. Since the Canadian government had taken what the FBI told them in good faith, no Canadian laws had been broken, thus absolving the Canadian government in any wrong doing. Of course, doing the right thing (ie. rescinding the extradition order on the basis of defending the Canadian Justice system from subversion) was not ever on the table.

Hope for Clemency

US President Clinton has publicly confirmed that Leonard's clemency petition has reached his office, and that it will be decided one way or the other in the very near future.

YOU CAN HELP ATTAIN FREEDOM FOR LEONARD PELTIER!

Call the White House Comments Line and urge President Clinton to grant Executive Clemency to Leonard Peltier. Make the call at least once a week, and get your friends to call on the same day.
The # is: 202-456-1111. If you can, call on your region's designated day: northeast-Monday, southeast-Tuesdays, Midwest-Wednesdays, northwest-Thursdays, southwest-Fridays. Call your MP too!

The IWW is a union for all workers, a union dedicated to organizing on the job, in our industries and in our communities both to win better conditions today and to build a world without bosses, a world in which production and distribution are organized by workers ourselves to meet the needs of the entire population, not merely a handful of exploiters.

We are the Industrial Workers of the World because we organize industrially — that is to say, we organize all workers on the job into one union, rather than dividing workers by trade, so that we can pool our strength to fight the bosses together.

We are a union open to all workers, whether or not the IWW happens to have representation rights in your workplace. We organize the worker, not the job, recognizing that unionism is not about government certification of employer recognition but about workers coming together to address our common concerns. Sometimes this means striking or signing a contract. Sometimes it means refusing to work with unsafe equipment or following the bosses' orders so literally that nothing gets done. Sometimes it means agitating around particular issues or grievances in a specific workplace, or across an industry.

Because the IWW is a democratic, member-run union, the decisions about what issues to address and what tactics are pursued are made by the workers directly involved. If you think this union is for you, please contact:

IWW Victoria General Membership Branch
Pager (250) 388-2868 email vic-gmb@iww.ca

IWW Vancouver GMB
Voicemail (604) 682-3269 ext. 8493
email pat_wobbly@hotmail.com

visit us online at iww.ca and iww.org

An Anti-authoritarian History of The Canadian Welfare State

by Mark Swanson

[The "wellfare state" in this article refers to a group of state run social programs; income assistance (UI, welfare, Canada Pension Plan), education and healthcare, as well as an ideological commitment on the part of the state to maintaining low unemployment through state spending and keeping interest rates low by manipulating the money supply. In Canada, these programs either originated or were greatly expanded in the decades after world war II.]

Introduction

The objective of social programs in Canada has from the beginning been control. Control not only of people but also culture. For those at the top, control over other people allows access to our labour, our children and the land. Control over culture allows access to our very relationship to ourselves and the world around us.

Assimilation was and is the tool of social policy: The destruction of cultural and personal autonomy and the reorganizing of the mass of people to see their relationship to the world through the interests of those in power.

Of course control would not be necessary if people did not resist. Social policy has often responded as a strategy to counter resistance and perceived threats to the social order, sometimes as an aggressive attack, sometimes as a defensive compromise but always one in which control remained firmly in the hands of the state. This dynamic can be seen in Canada's earliest social policies.

Origins of the welfare state

The "progressive" movements of the late 19th and early 20th century were led by members of central Canada's upper middle-class and laid the foundation for social programs that would become the centre-piece of the modern welfare state. Progressives were aware of the social conflict brought about in Europe and the U.S.. by the rise of industrial capitalism and they saw the cultural autonomy and potential for class conflict among the immigrant working-class as a threat to social order. Progressives also saw wage earning women, particularly mothers, as undermining the patriarchal, nuclear family and prescribed that social workers perform "domestic tutelage" in the immigrant household.

A central pillar of this assimilationist project would be compulsory education. Working-class children would be removed from the household and enrolled in compulsory education in order to inscribe them with acceptance of the authoritarian, hierarchical structures in the Canadian state.

In Canada, one of the most influential advocates of public education in the late 19th century was Egerton Ryerson. While some working-class organizations supported education reform in the form of trade schools for working-class boys, Ryerson was clearly motivated by perceived threats to the social order, arguing that "...the physical disease and death which have accompanied (the immigrants) influx among us may be the precursor of the worse pestilence of social insubordination and disorder."[1]

Ryerson believed that education would eliminate resistance of immigrant and often rural labor to strict factory rules and internalized self-discipline by helping to break "pre-industrial" work habits and to "Canadianize" the immigrants, by removing them from traditional origins and practices. Ryerson also promoted the inscribing of gender roles as part of this education project. The sexual division of labor would be introduced through programs teaching girls their "proper" domestic duties and "the attributes of a true lady".

"Progressive" programs designed to assimilate populations into the emerging social order also found their way into the colonialist policies of the Canadian settler state. The fear that indigenous cultures, not directly obedient to Western capitalist values, would resist the theft of their ancestral lands influenced the role of education in the Indian Act in 1876. The Act was an all encompassing program of genocide and social control designed to assimilate indigenous peoples and facilitate the appropriation of traditional lands for white settlers. Under policies of "civilizing" and "assimilating" were imposed Christian religion, Western education, European style government and attempts to divide common land into individual property or leasing to white businesses. While the immigrant working-class faced compulsory education, native children were forcibly removed to residential schools where traditional beliefs were banned and replaced with Christian religion, where native languages were banned and where children were subject to torture and abuse. By 1946 an official of the Indian Affairs branch would proclaim, "Evangelization has gone hand in hand with education and nearly all the Indians are Christian, there being only a few bands and groups which adhere to their aboriginal beliefs."[2]

For those upon whom these policies were enacted, both immigrant and indigenous, consent was not required and the "recipients" were never consulted. The motivation was protection of the social order and the instrument was social control disguised as progressive reforms. This was the historical context within which the Canadian welfare state arose.

Mechanisms for the Mind: New modes of Assimilation

During the first half of the 20th century, social policy remained a patchwork quilt of mostly municipal programs. Programs promoting assimilation also continued but now had moved beyond public education and a focus on children to a new mechanism of education that could reach adults beyond the previous grasp of social reformers. This mechanism had developed along-side mass production as the need to create new markets and new consumers came up against a self-sufficient and thrift-minded rural population. The mechanism was advertising and its power to homogenize culture would help spawn both commercial media and consumer culture and create a mutually beneficial relationship to the welfare state. As Edward Feline, an early American advocate of educating the masses through advertising wrote, "(m)ass production demands the education of the masses..." and through that education, "the masses must learn to behave like human beings in a mass production world." [3]

Against a social backdrop of poverty, sexism and white supremacy, the new culture offered an illusion of unity through consumption mediated by an equally illusive invitation to assimilate into the maniacally happy world portrayed in its advertisements.

Ironically, this new mechanism of assimilation was being undermined by the very mass production system that had spawned it. Wages during the first half of the 20th century simply were not allowed to increase fast enough to consume the massive increase in production and most families stubbornly held on to rural, immigrant and non-Western consumption patterns. While industrial trade journals ran articles complaining about the problem, no individual corporation wanted to bear the cost of paying higher wages that would benifit both them and their competitors. It took a crisis to mobilize capitalists into collective action through the state.

The Emergence of The Welfare State

The modern expansion of the welfare state was sparked by the crisis of the Great Depression. The combination of mass-production combined with an inability to create the necessary higher levels of consumption eventually contributed to a collapse in world trade and unemployment that exceeded 20% of the Canadian work force in the 193Os.

Once again, it was not concern for the poor that motivated social policy. Unemployment insurance would not be introduced until World War II. Instead, it was a combination of radical working-class agitation that threatened social order and a growing belief in parts of the corporate community that by increasing incomes and consumption, an expanded state could pacify labor militancy and stabalize capitalism.

The development of social programs were overseen by interests closely tied to the social order and by primeministers intimately connected to the corporate community. R.B. Bennett was a director on numerous corporations and the owner of the Eddy Match Company and Mackenzie King was the wealthy former consultant to the Rockefeller family of New York.

Business presentations to the Royal Commissions consulting both primeministers reveal the motives behind corporate support for social programs. The Montreal Board of trade argued "...taxation for the purpose of social services transfers purchasing power from the richer to the poorer classes, raises the standard of living of the poor, increases their demand for commodities and thereby tends towards industrial stability and prosperity."[4]

Another reason for supporting unemployment insurance was its potential to pacify growing militancy within the working-class. As the newsletter of the pulp and paper industry argued, assimilating unemployed workers into an unemployment insurance system or providing pensions to open up jobs to ...

Continued on page 15

CHALLENGING NATO AND THE KILLING INDUSTRY

By Shane Calder

As may be well known, the NATO parliamentary Association (PA) will not be having their semi-annual general meeting in Victoria BC this coming Oct 2001. While the knowledge of this cancellation has been known to many for some time, we have yet to discuss how militarism, and NATO, will be further challenged now that we no longer have the convenience of meeting them in Victoria.

As of yet the 'anti-globalization' movement has only given cursory mentions of peace, war, and the industry of weapons production. The anti-war/anti-Vietnam sentiment that motivated much of the popular unrest during the sixties and seventies has been replaced now by a movement animated through sweatshops, the environment, and labour rights (roughly). Whether this is due to a belief that 'anti-globalization' accurately captures the issues of war/peace, or that the peace movement is no longer vogue, the outcome is the same.

The military industrial complex is the corner stone of neo-liberal economic policies and must be placed firmly within any popular movement that has as its aims freedom, peace, and justice. As esoteric those terms seem sometimes, what the current anti—globalization movement has shown me, for one, is the possibility of their reality.

The connections between military spending and quality of life are easily made. Besides the obvious results of war, the business of war sucks from the public coffers billions upon billions of dollars, yearly, that might otherwise have gone towards programs of more public worth. In addition, the economic policies of organizations such as the WTO and the IMF dramatically increase regional instability that often results in situations of war and conflict. The western-backed break-up of the former Republic of Yugoslavia into tiny economically dependant regions resulted in not only previously unheard of 'ethnic' conflict, but into overt western imperialism. The images of war we see on CNN are a direct and diabolical result of neo-liberalism/imperialism.

It seems that the vast majority of the power we have as people is to speak collectively. We must start speaking to war and its effects upon nearly everything conscionable people deplore. The connection to war can be made whether we are speaking to welfare rates, health care, childcare, pensions, deforestation, mining, or native sovereignty. With effort we should not consider it impossible that popular dissent could be directed, as it is towards anti-free trade, towards war and the industry of killing.

A CONVASATIONAL INTERVEIW.

Beach at Dallas Rd. Sept. 17th 2000

Matt Fair is an multi-media artist, working with sound collage. He is the creator of a six cd set called '*The world owes you a living*' an assembled discourse on the social hegemony of the Protestant work ethic. Max Sloan is a poet, radio presenter and photographer.

M S: I've had this love hate relationship with cities, there is something about the energy that fascinates me, it kind of draws you in. I remember the first time I took this trip to Paris to visit a friend. I finally got to the Eiffel Tower I couldn't get right to the top because they were doing some work on it, but the next level down looking out over Paris with all the lights. I had this feeling that all this energy is to maintain the city, to keep those lights running all the time. When you see big office buildings they never seem to turn out their lights. It's proof of the virility of this empire we've created. It was a beautiful spectacle to see all those lights lit up, to see the city and think about all the human energy that went into constructing it all. But it does feel like a sickness sometimes, when I go to Vancouver to visit friends, I always come away with this feeling that this doesn't feel right, people shouldn't be living like this. I don't know if I'm ready to leave it all behind and take off to the woods. I remember this quote from Albert Camus '*There are no islands of escape in time of plague*' I know a few people who've taken off and live up in the mountains. They don't really listen to the radio or read news papers or watch T.V. and to a certain extent they are out of touch with what's going on, it's like they've transcended things and why not just turn your back and say we're going to live up in the mountains, we're going to grow our own food, people have been dropping out of this culture for a long time.

M F: I think people have always dropped out of the mainstream culture. I remember reading the autobiography of Jean-Jacque Rousseau and his descriptions of city life are much the same, it's the same mentality but now it's enhanced as you say by these lit up sky scrapers and the implications of them and the non-human powers that are all around us, including the imposing architecture that is dominating. I guess you could say it's dominating, it depends on whether one is dominated or not. We can psychologize the motives for building skyscrapers and keeping them lit. It's a nightlight, because there's a monster out there we must not.... are we afraid of the dark is that what it is, afraid of silence. I think that might be part of it. We must keep the energy, whether it's sound, keep the radio on, keep the TV going. I do it myself I find at 11 or 12 at night, I say all I'm doing is pouring this culture down my throat, I'm glutting on it. I don't need that much culture, if you want to call it culture, the stuff other people have made or said. To some extent it's a denial of what might want to grow out of my own garden, my own soul. But when you say dropping out, they're missing out on what's going on, but if it was me I would argue that I am what's going on. Wherever people are it's what's going on, is the human soul on Earth. It's always a matter of speculation whether the collective is going anywhere, certainly it's come somewhere. It's astonishing and spectacular, when you say looking out over Paris look at this accomplishment and when you engage it with your own imagination which is somewhat educated, so you can think about it from a variety of perspectives, not simply experience it....but I was going to ask have you ever met an individual human being that impressed you in any way comparable to being way up the Eiffel Tower looking at Paris at night. You weren't looking at any human beings just stuff that's come out of human beings.

M S: I'd have to think about that for more than just a few seconds.

M F: Like if I look at you I see billions of years of evolution that has come to this particular form and shape and within that an individual human being following a path that has to do with what you've experienced and learned and felt and philosophized. You can look at it from a variety of perspectives, what an individual is. You're generic, here's a modern man who's lived in cities and you're also to some extent an expatriot, you're far from the country of your birth, in fact on a coast, that's across a continent and you're an individual, Max. So I could, I suppose in a state of enthusiasm and being more awake in myself, I could be equally astonished , I think, if I listened to your story, as looking at the collective pile of inventions, structures that a whole lot of people have projected out of themselves and out of their relationships upon which we look and react, trying to figure out where we are or where we might be.

M S: I know for me I've constructed this identity of being an artist or a poet, but it seems this identity exists because of this culture, because of my opposition to it. It seems that every artistic or creative act that I endeavor to do, seems to be in the face of the culture I've experienced and the reasons I don't like it. Then I think if I had a culture that was satisfying to me, What kind of art would I create then, If I didn't have this opposition in my life, didn't have this resistance, weren't at odds with myself, would I just be smug and content, where would the art come then, would it be out of daily life, would I make spoons and pottery.

M F: Or would there be no art at all, except participation, to be fully a participant in something that was worth participating in, with no need for history, with no need to keep a record. It's a wonderful ideal state to imagine where one wouldn't feel that one must preserve something against our vanishing. One would be adjusted to death or whatever one felt about that particular event, it's true. When did you first call yourself an artist?

M S: It was a slow progression, it took me awhile. People ask you what do you do, basically saying what's your job, that way they can have some sort of idea of who you are through your occupation. Usually I'd say I worked on archaeological digs, but that's not really who I am, it's what I did to make money. I started writing lyrics for punk bands that never really came about, then writing in notebooks. Then just before I left England 91/92 I put out this book of poems that I had constructed from crossword puzzle clues. I took words and sentences, also making them up as well, out of my own head, put them all together in a booklet I called ' Bronze Christ'. Then I phoned some local newspapers, in a way it was a kind of hoax, the poetry I didn't have any stake in it, I wasn't baring my soul to anybody. If someone criticized it I was not going to get hurt by it, because I just made them up, as it were. This local paper came round took this picture of me in my back garden holding up this book. It was a kind of game to call myself a poet. But then after exploring that whole thing, I thought why not call myself a poet, no one has got the right to do it except me. So now when people ask what do you do, I say I write poetry. After awhile I got more and more confident in saying this is what I do, this is what I want to do.

M F: And people here would ask you, do you make a living from that and if you don't....I don't know if the puritan work ethic over there is similar to here, but here it's pretty strong. I think in terms of your social role, if it turns into money it's legitimate, if it doesn't it's a hobby.

M S: I think most people know that it's very rarely that you make money out of poetry or art at all, unless you are a really successful painter or sculptor and demand all these high prices for your work.

M F: But money legitimates whatever you make in this culture by telling you it's of value to other people. It seems to me that that's the measurable ticket of social value. So do you think of your poetry as a social contribution, do you think of it in those terms?

M S: As years went by I realized I'd gone through these different stages of identity. Coming to Canada really helped in that way, to take a back seat, to look at what I'd been doing in the last 10 years. I realized I went from being the son in the family, then the pupil at school, the next stage was to be the employee, your identity shaped by the work you did. Then I had the punk rock persona, there was a lot of identity involved with that, then affiliations with anarchism. I thought being a poet's not that bad of an identity, if you need one to secure you in this culture. As regards value, I believe there are people that are cultural workers. I'm sure you've spent hours on a project. Say I spend five hours in the darkroom developing photographs, I don't get paid for that. Then say I came to sell my photograph how do I put a monetary value on it. How long did it take me? How long was I thinking about the taking photograph?

M F: And what relevance is it if someone else likes the photograph. If I look at the photograph and say I think that's great, now there's a very direct affirmation of the social value of your work, whether or not I give you money. I wonder if my affirmation of your work, what is that worth compared to if a famous photographer looked at it or a famous anybody who is certified in our society as having some sort of authorization or money, which is of coarse, despite it's ephemeralness, it's concrete. If I gave you 10 bucks for it, then that's transferable currency, but the currency of my opinion, I wonder what's that worth, generally.

A SAD & BEAUTIFUL WORLD

Previously, A Sad & Beautiful World Poetry Conglomerate had published 3 xerox format 'text happenings. These were sporadically produced and distributed amongst friends and cronies. Currently, A Sad & Beautiful World is working with the Sleeping Dragon Collective to Produce and distribute this ''zine within an 'zine.' Sleeping Dragon prints 100's, 1000's even of copies, is published quarterly, and sends the paper across the country— a few issues make it Europe, Australia, and the U.S. Although the members of the two collectives live in the same small town, see each other on a daily basis, and get along smashingly, we are distinct entities with separate decision making apparatus.

A Sad & Beautiful World's mandate is elaborated on more in the first 'insert' in Sleeping Dragon Is. 3 Fall 2000... "we maintain and support the creation of media space for art work that challenges oppressive systems within our society."

For the next and successive issues, please send A Sad & Beautiful World poems, prose, or other wise text happenings. Also, audio recordings can be sent for play on CFUV, Victoria's community radio station on 101.9 FM, also available over the internet at http://cfuv.uvic.ca broadcasting Fridays from 8-9pm.

Mail to: A Sad & Beautiful World
c/o Sleeping Dragon Press
Box 8404
Victoria, B.C., V8W 3S1
E-mail- re: A Sad & Beautiful World
resist@ dojo.tao.ca

...A SAD & BEAUTIFUL WORLD PAGE 1...

Splitting The Sky Speaks on Gustafson Lake and the New Documentary "Above The Law: Part 2"

This excerpt is from a talk that was presented by Splitting The Sky after a screening of the documentary, "Above The Law: Part 2" at Café Simpatico, in the Fernwood Community Association hall, Victoria BC, October 11/00. To make donations to help STS put out his book or to order a copy of the video send $27 (cheques or money orders payable to John Boncore) to: c/o Splitting The Sky, John Boncore, PO box 1492, Chase, B.C., V0E 1M0

Sisters and brothers good evening. First of all I would like to thank the indigenous peoples of the region for welcoming me onto your land. I would like to thank the organizers of this evening for inviting me. Particularly brother Carlos Fuentes. And for my friends, Allen, Erika and Cliff for always being there and when I come to this part of the country.

I'm going to start off by reading a little article for you (maybe two). This article is from the Globe and Mail dated April 29,2000.

"Film Suggests Dosanjh manufactured a Crisis: Gustafson Lake arrests made to show tough image, documentary suggests" - by Robert Metis.
A new documentary on the armed standoff at Gustafson Lake, 5 years ago has accused BC premier Ujjal Dosanjh of playing a prominent role in manufacturing a crisis to justify the involvement of the Canadian military in the incident, a confrontation at Gustafson Lake about 358 km NE of Vancouver, was one the largest police actions in Canadian history, involving about 400 police officers. Previous reports stated that the Canadian military provided equipment but that the RCMP was in charge of dealing with the intense standoff. The incident began after a group of Shushwap natives claimed part of a rancher's land as a sacred ancestral site and held a Sundance ceremony at the site. After a 31 day siege police laid charges against 18 people ranging from mischief and trespass to attempted murder. In a 90 minute film broadcast yesterday on the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network, Mr. Dosanjh is shown making inflammatory statements at the beginning of the confrontation, establishing his reputation as law and order politician. Mr. Dosanjh accuses Natives of shooting at police officers, hunting them and that they actually pursued them to kill.

Now I'm going to inject a little a thought. For the Attorney General of a province or a state, to make allegations, prejudicial statements as such was completely unethical and outside his mandate and portfolio. And racist to say the least! Hard to believe, since we have the new multicultural premier sitting at the head of this province.

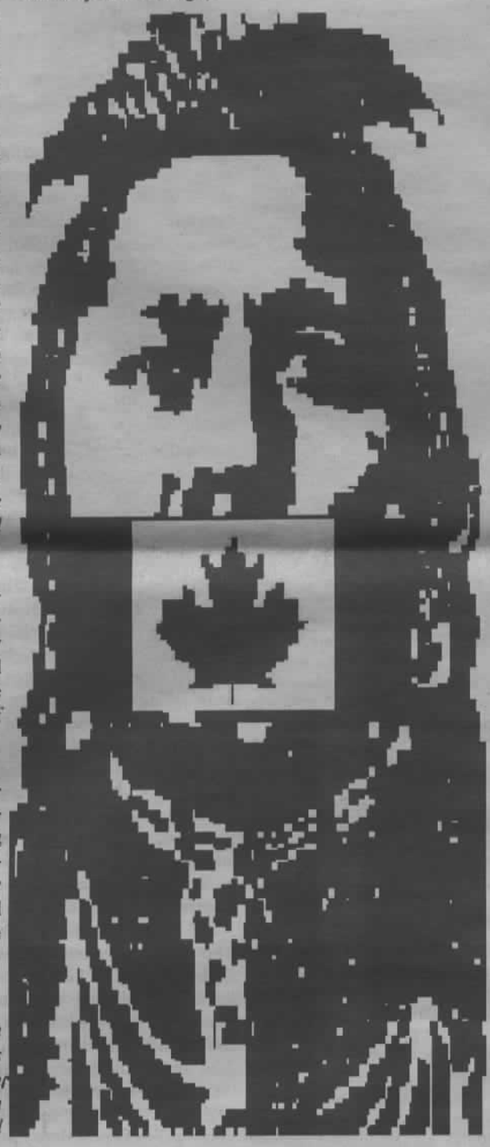
He (Dosanjh) also says that its not part of the aboriginal rights to pick up AK47's and start shooting at police officers. Another prejudicial statement. Asserting as fact. I bring your attention to this now as I'm dissecting everything that is stated. That's part of my book, soon to be released. Dissects all the lies and misconceptions that we are told in order to justify the state sponsored incursions.

Reading from Globe and Mail:
The film, called above the law part 2, a sequel to an earlier documentary on the same subject also shows correspondence between premier Dosanjh and former (federal) Solicitor General Herb Gray requesting an increase in support from the Department of National Defense based on incidents of violence. But BC videographer, Mervin Brown who wrote and produced the film alleges the violence did not come from the Shushwap sun dancers. The film juxtaposes clips from an internal RCMP training film with previously available material to allege incidents of violence were concocted by police to overcome federal reluctance to engage the army in a confrontation with natives.

By the way I provided that film which I stole from the prosecutor during the trial. Which is what you could call a "progressive" associate producer.

Reading from Globe and Mail:
The film also includes an accusation from former RCMP officer Bob Woods that the RCMP escalated the level of violence. Mr. Woods says in the film that he retired from the Mounties after 8 years of service because they did not treat native officers properly. He was one of the 3 officers assigned to monitor the Shushwap Sundance ceremony in the early summer. He was in contact with the natives for 2 months before events escalated in mid-August. He said in the film that the sacred ceremony had ended and natives were leaving the site when the RCMP began the siege. "The RCMP made up their minds that they were going to go in to use force. It didn't matter what I said", the former RCMP officer said.

He (Bob Woods) happens to be, not Mohawk but part of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy…and his conscience got the best of him for his people… because he realized that they weren't acting as peacekeepers up there but had the intention to go in there and murder. While they systematically pulled him off on the morning they were going there to execute on August the 18th, 1995. Which was bungled (you'll get that story soon enough).



Reading from Globe and Mail:
The RCMP dismiss the allegations in the film as totally unfounded." The contents of the police training film have been distorted so much that it is difficult to make any comment", RCMP sergeant John Ward said yesterday.

Now, how can that statement assault your senses. You saw for yourself them making the statements. Now they are saying we took the film and twisted it around to say whatever we wanted it to say. John Ward is very clearly seen saying in the film that it was not the first time that we have taken flack jackets to the range and fired on those flack jackets in order to put bullet holes in a vest to justify a concocted incident that never happened. Why? Because in a police state in order to get consent by the public, by the people through the use of the mainstream media you have to manufacture consent by putting out lies. One sided reporting by the police.

Reading from Globe and Mail;
"The portrayal of events in the film was not accurate", he (John Ward) said. "The training film has been edited in such a way that a lot of things are out of context. There were hours and hours of video tape. With selective editing you can make it say whatever you want."

Well, didn't we just see the selective 6 minute piece on the smear and disinformation campaign? Orchestrating a co-ordinated smear and disinformation campaign. Which is according to (RCMP officer) Peter Montegue, their specialty. Calculated, cold-blooded liars! To say the least.

Reading from Globe and Mail:
The police did not provide the tapes to Mr. Brown. Although film credits include a special thanks to the RCMP.

Ya, thanks for leaving them around so I could steal em from your ass!

"We're unsure where the tapes came from", he says. Well I know where they came from. And I've never denied not taken them. You know where they came from. You just don't know what to do because you are being put on point right now to justify the lies. And you've been exposed. Your lies have been exposed and not 1…10…100…1000…100,000 people know that you lied! Because for the last 5 years that is what we have been doing…divulging every single lie that we have been told of Gustafson Lake to justify the manufacturing for the consent of the good, common Canadian people to murder us up at Gustafson Lake! And we have effectively turned that around as I speak here today.

Reading Globe and Mail:
Sergeant Ward also disputed Mr. Woods' comments "the former officer did a good job" sergeant Ward said "but he had to be pulled out when the danger increased", although Mr. Woods claimed the event was winding down sergeant Ward insisted the incident was in fact escalating and tension was rising. Neither Mr. Dosanjh nor a spokesperson for the department of national defense was available yesterday for an interview on the allegations in the film.

Why would not the then attorney general, the now premier of this province refuse to give response to those allegations, which he does of course in the next day, and I'm not going to read the whole article because it's called Dosanjh defends his role in 1995 standoff and here's what you've basically got him saying: "I had to do the right thing and enforce the law", Mr. Dosanjh said in an interview, "the RCMP decided what had to be done and how to do it" Mr. Dosanjh said. His responsibility as attorney general was to ensure that the law was enforced appropriately and to speak out if necessary to ensure British Columbians that everything was okay. That's his justification, he had to assure you everything was okay up at the lake. Huh? Everything was okay for who? The bourgeoisie? The petty bourgeois establishment?! The colonial regime known as "Canada"?! Who was it good for? It certainly wasn't good for me at the other end of those goddamn snipers!!…so no, it wasn't good for anybody that was up at Gustafson lake in 1995!! No, it wasn't good, even today as we sit down and talk I usually have a paparazzi of CSIS intelligence following me everywhere I go and probably with their snipers ready to hit me at any moment, but to me it doesn't matter, because to me we won! We won at Gustafson Lake! Because we exposed the lies and we exposed to Canada that there is one law for all and that one law for all was misrepresented by the bourgeoisie, by the colonial courts, by the colonial masses of this regime, that it was misrepresented, you had been misinformed about what the law is, and we're here tonight to tell you…what the rule of law was and is up at Gustafson Lake at that day, at that particular time, which has been the law since 1763!...

The Al-Aqsa Intifada: No Peace With An Occupying Power

The following is an interview with Bobby Arbess, a peace, ecology and social justice activist living in Victoria, B.C and who as a Jew dares to be branded as an anti-semite or traitor for his longstanding criticism of Israel and its 33 year brutal military occupation of the Palestinian territories.

SDP: **How would you summarize the situation between Israel and the Palestinians right now?**

B.A: Israel has mobilized troops in a full military crackdown of Palestinian towns in the West Bank and Gaza, with an intention of crushing the new ***intifada*** (uprising), before it spreads which it did in 1989, lasting five years. As usual, its rocks versus rockets. With Israel imposing military curfews on Palestinian towns across the West Bank and Gaza, there are serious food and medical shortages. It isn't an exaggeration to say that Israel is trying to starve and terrorize the Palestinians into submission When Israel pulled out of Gaza in 1994, it left the Palestinians with inadequate resources to maintain its own hospitals; and there aren't enough beds and surgeons to treat the sheer numbers of casualties from the current carnage. Its estimated that more than 325 Palestinians have been killed by the Israelis and 8,000 injured in the last two months. For the first time ever Israel has been pressured into agreeing to a UN investigation of the human rights abuses and excessive use of force routinely used against the Palestinians under Israeli rule. It's about fucking time. The recent use of live ammunition, machine-gun mounted helicopters and anti-tank missile fire against unarmed civilians peacefully demanding their rights, has prompted enough international outcry to force the inquiry. There's definitely a frightening intensification of Israeli violence against the Palestinians and the dominant imagery of the Palestinians that's constructed in the international media as blood-thirsty barbarians has been used to justify an escalation of repression. Though it may seem that it's gotten worse lately, the human rights atrocities have been the norm for 33 years and more. The upsring is an expression of a growing Palestinian frustration with what a charade the "peace process" is and always has been. Things have gotten worse under the Labour Party Prime Minister Ehud Barak, who has opened up more new Jewish settlements in the last nine months than the right-wing Netanyahu did in his last three years in power. The situation is abysmal and hopefully the world is waking up to the plight of the Palestinians who have suffered for so long. The occupation must be brought down. The human rights inquiry may bring that home. Certainly there is no such thing as a humane military occupation, though Israel has tried to put a hopeful face on it as they always have-- displaying aggression, while talking peace.

SDP: **Could you provide a brief cultural, political and historical geography of Israel/Palestine?**

B.A: Lets start in in 1947, Zionist Jewish war survivors start migrating to Palestine (smaller than Vancouver Island), then under British rule, with the intentions of settling the land and building a Jewish nation. The British refuse them access to the country and Zionist terrorists bomb the British Headquarters in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. In 1948, the UN is formed, voting in favour of a Jewish State of Israel in Palestine, much to the opposition of the Palestinian Arabs and the Arab states. There is mass immigration of holocaust survivors to Israel, as well as Sephardic Jews fleeing persecution in the Arab countries, brought on by the creation of Israel. The Partition Plan is proposed as a territorial compromise offering roughly half of Palestine to the Jews and half to the Palestinians. The Arabs refuse; a war against the new Jewish state is waged with the local Palestinian population taking the worst of it. Four hundred Palestinian villages are destroyed amounting to the expulsion of 800,000 Palestinians, whose descendants now number about 3 million, mostly stateless refugees, scattered throughout the Palestinian Diaspora, with the largest refugee populations in adjacent Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, where they've received similarly brutal treatment by the Arab states and continue 52 years later to live in squalor, without any citizenship rights. About 700,000 Palestinian Arabs remaining in Israel, receive Israeli citizenship, as second class citizens. In 1967, Israel, in pursuit of a Greater Israel, occupies the West Bank (Jordan), the Gaza Strip (Egypt) and the Golan Heights (Syria). Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians pushed into refugee camps in 1948 by the Israelis, are now forced to live under Israeli military rule. The Palestinian Liberation Army (PLO), operating in exile, is established with a broad nationalist mandate of armed struggle to assert their rights to self-determination in their own land. Between 1967 and the present, Israel proceeds to establish an extensive network of roads, highways and permanent Jewish settlements in occupied Arab territory, contravening the Fourth Geneva Convention of international law prohibiting the development of permanent settlements in occupied territory. in 1975 a UN resolution is passed asserting that "Zionism is Racism". Israel wages a campaign of low-intensity warfare and repression against the PLO, bombing refugee camps, hospitals and schools in Lebanon between 1967 and present. From 1989-1993 the Palestinian intifada, a localized, village-based revolt against the Israeli army, begins; aimed at ending the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and demanding a Palestinian State, bordering Israel in the occupied territories. Thousands of Palestinians are killed. Massive human rights violations including illegal detentions, the use of torture, political executions and the demolition of Palestinian homes are standard practices of the occupation.

SDP: **You were involved in the Israeli peace movement. Could you talk about that?**

B.A: I was in Israel for a year in 1989 and participated in solidarity demonstrations in the West Bank. That was at the peak of the last intifada, which means, " to throw off the shackles" in Arabic, referring to the suffering and subjugation the Palestinians have endured for the last 33 years of the Israeli occupation. The intifada was eventually diffused by the Oslo Peace accord signed on the Whitehouse lawn in 1993. When I was there, the PLO had not even been recognized by Israel as the legitimate voice of the Palestinian peoples and the thought of a Palestinian state, next to Israel was considered preposterous by most Israeli Jews. People were being jailed and beaten for unfurling the Palestinian flag. I became aware of the daily harassment, humiliation and exploitation of the Palestinian peoples. Its then that I learned of the tactics of apartheid used by Israel. Palestinian vehicles had different coloured plates and Palestinian workers were required to show pass cards as they went through military checkpoints each day to work in Israel. There are few jobs in the Palestinian territories, which allowed Israel to access an enormous cheap labour pool of a million or so Palestinians workers, who did the shit jobs in Israel, that the Jews of colour from Ethiopia and the Arab countries did before the occupation. The Arab workers were forced to leave the country after 5 pm and if they were caught in Israel after hours, they could be jailed. The voice of the people was in the streets. The youth were in a state of complete revolt and like the images we see today of the renewed intifada that is happening right now in the wake of Oslo's failures, unarmed civilians were taking on the IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) with rocks and bricks and molotov cocktails. I visited a number of West Bank towns and villages that were under military curfew and where the entire population were prohibited from leaving their houses for even basic provisions. I'd attend solidarity demonstrations organized by the Israeli peace movement and they'd happen at military checkpoints along the roads into the Arab villages. I met kids who'd have ugly bruises or were missing teeth from rubber bullets that hit them in demonstrations and who hadn't been to school in a year because the Civil Administration had shut them down. We'd bring food and clothing for the families. Often the men or older boys would be in jail. Right now there are about 14,000 Palestinian political prisoners rotting in Israeli jails, who have been there for years, many of them who have never had a trial. It was then that I saw the rubbly remains of houses that had been demolished by the army as a form collective punishment if a kid from that house had been seen throwing stones. There wasn't a family that hadn't lost somebody during the intifada. It was a time of incredible bravery and sacrifice for these people which I found deeply inspiring and which moved me to really question Israel's basic Zionist ideology, policies and practices. It was while visiting the West Bank that I saw the large, plush looking gated Jewish settlements typically perched on a hill overlooking some rundown Arab village below the hill, whose days you could just feel were numbered; and learned about how those new Jewish settlements were built in contravention of international law and how they had big swimming pools that diverted scarce water from nearby Palestinian crops; and that the religious settlers would go everywhere with their machine guns and periodically shoot up some Arabs kids throwing rocks at their cars on the highways into the settlement. It was there that I first understood the term the Wild West Bank and put the concept of a Rabbi and a Cowboy together in my imagination.

SDP: **How would you define Zionism and were you raised a Zionist?**

B.A: Zionism is a Jewish nationalist movement that maintains that Jews have the right to self-determination in their own country. Its also an unwritten ideology that attempts to maintain Jewish rule over a subordinate non-Jewish population. Which is why I am not a Zionist, though I'd like the Jews like everyone else with a such an intense history of oppression to have a place in the world where people won't fuck with us. Fighting all forms of fascism and racism, including antisemitism is one way to go. After generations of persecution, pogroms, deportations and the murder of nearly 1 of 3 Jews on the planet in the Nazi genocide, it'd be hard to argue that the Jews themselves shouldn't be entitled to their own homeland. Before the second world war a high percentage of European Jews were strong internationalists, many of them involved in socialist movements and were integrated members of pluralistic societies, sometimes enjoying equal opportunities, sometimes not. After the war, the Zionists maintained that since there was no place left for Jews in Europe that they should go to Palestine, the ancient homeland of the Jews and settle there as small groups of Jews had been doing since the late 1890s, but with the intention of building a Jewish state that would be a haven for Jews all over the world. Jews have an indisputable historic connection to that piece of land. However, the Zionist mythology, singularly focused on its own agenda, asserted that Palestine was a "land without people, for a people without land". In Zionist mythology, the very existence of the indigenous Arab population of Palestine was nullified. As such Zionism had something in common with other colonialist movements in its ignorance and denial of the rights of the indigenous inhabitants generally viewed as impediments to the development of the modern nation-state Israel aspired to become and whose rights to self-determination were made secondary to the project of building a nation where Jews would have security, which has always been doublespeak for hegemony, both demographically and politically.

From the beginning, the hidden agenda of Zionism has been to turn the former Palestine into a Jewish nation and to make the Palestinians either disappear and go live elsewhere or to make them second-class citizens in their own land, another trademark of colonialism. Of course, this is at a time of widespread anti-colonialist sentiment throughout the non-white world. The British mandate in Palestine was at its end. The proposition of having what was perceived as another white European colonial regime take over what is essentially an Arab region, wasn't met with great enthusiasm by Palestinian Arabs or the neighboring Arab states. At a time when most of the world was ignorant or didn't care about what had happened to the Jews in Europe, certainly the Palestinians were not aware that the Europeans colonizing their land, were many of them survivors of genocide. The Zionists, in my interpretation, exploited the very people they were trying to help, by supporting quotas on Jewish refugees in the U.S and elsewhere and effectively denying Jews from Europe a choice as to whether they would go to Israel or the U.S. Surely, the U.S was happy to see the Jews go to Israel, instead

Sleeping Dragon Page 8

of New York. Many Jews who had preferred to emigrate to the U.S or Canada after the war, had no choice and ended up in Israel.

Without knowing it, I was raised a Zionist. My parents, more secular humanist than anything else, didn't try to indoctrinate my brothers and I that way. However, we were encouraged to accept a fair bit of simplistic dogma that Israel was a good thing and that if Jews were to be safe Israel would have to exist in case another holocaust would happen and we could all go there etc.etc. What we were told about Israel reinforced a certain sense of insecurity about living as a Jewish minority in a Christian country, which Israel was supposed to allay. And as such, there still is an attitude of uncritical support for Israel in my family with an equally uncritical sense of despair that things haven't worked out with the Palestinians. I think I'm the only one in my family trying to figure out why and work to rectify the injustices that are inherent in Israeli society. As well, I grew up with a lot of negative stereotypes of Arabs, equally unfounded in reason. As well, a lot of Jews in North America feel that their only role is to send money to Israel and that they don't have the right to criticize the Israelis because they have to live there amid all the fear and violence and that we don't have a clue what its like and should just shut up and let them deal with it. I think that's a load of shit. Surely, I don't know what it's like to live in a war zone, but human rights are non-negotiable. And that its time to stand up for those rights for everyone regardless of whether you're a Jew, an Arab or a gentile. That's what solidarity is.

It wasn't until I befriended a group of Palestinians from Gaza Strip while studying at U Vic, that I began to really question the absurdities and indecencies of Zionism; and the notion of Jewish liberation that entails the oppression of another peoples, as dispossessed by our claim to power and statehood as we've been for centuries. It is a central message of Judaism, reiterated every year at our Pesach seder, which celebrates our freedom from slavery in ancient Egypt, that until all are free, none are free. A humanist spin on this is that "all" means everyone, not just Jews or white, male, heterosexual, privileged class. A nationalist interpretation would read it as "until all Jews are free, none are free".

SDP: **What has the so-called peace process accomplished?**

B.A. Not a whole lot. The Oslo Agreement signed in September 1993 by Arafat and Rabin was heralded as the first step toward Palestinian independence and a triumphant breakthrough for peace, landing both leaders the Nobel Peace award. The reality was that the PLO was forced to make harmful concessions upon which they accepted the continuation of the Israeli military occupation in most of the West Bank. Their statehood and the return of their lands occupied in 1967, as well as the issue of reparations, compensation and repatriation of Palestinian refugees were, conveniently for the Israelis, left off the agenda at Oslo, to be dealt with in a final set of negotiations at some indeterminable point in the future.

Its been seven years since Oslo and the Palestinians are still waiting as they've had vast tracts of land expropriated, whole neighborhoods demolished and replaced by Jewish neighborhoods inhabited by Jews from New York; olive and citrus groves bulldozed to the ground and replaced by highways connecting the settlements that they aren't allowed to use without passing through Israeli military checkpoints. This is happening on their land after the supposed great breakthrough peace had happened. Israel's impossible conditions for returning to the negotiations haven't been met. One of the conditions that Arafat accepted, in what many Arab critics consider a terrible act of capitulation was that PLO would guarantee Israel's "security", which meant to control acts of Palestinian terrorism. At the same time Israel has provoked Palestinian terrorism at every turn, creating a peace doomed to failure, with the status quo of Israeli occupation , left intact, to Israel's obvious advantage.

The security argument is a cruel joke that reflects the outrageous dominant bargaining position Israel has had in the peace process and the pathetic subordination of the PLO to Israeli interests. Can peace ever exist between two sides so uneven in power? With 6,000 Palestinian homes demolished by the Israel since the occupation began; and the expansion of over 200 illegal settlements in The West Bank and Gaza; and a high percentage of the male population in jail; and mass poverty and unemployment and homelessness; and people being shot at demonstrations; and the daily harassment at military checkpoints and the difficulty in getting building permits to house their families and on and on- it is Palestinian security that seems to be the issue. With 6 billion dollars of US military and economic aid to Israel per year and the fact of Israel's military superiority in the Middle East, one imagines that if Israel hasn't attained its security by now, it never will. Nor is its security enhanced by policies and practices that only increase Palestinian suffering and outrage.

"One and a half year old Wa'ad Al-Atrash in front of her newly demolished home"

Despite Arafat's declaration to his people that he had won their independence at Oslo, all that Israel had agreed to was to merely partially redeploy troops from Gaza and Jericho, two tracts of land which are 60 miles apart and where the PLO was "granted" limited "autonomy" as a kind of small town government. Even within the small percentage of their territories in which the Palestinians gained the most narrow degree of so-called autonomy, Arafat agreed to grant Israel control over decision-making and policy regarding land , electricity, water, building permits, security, domestic laws, and foreign policy. The Palestinians were left to look after their own health care, sanitation, education, postal service and tourism, but without access to the resources to do so. The presence of the army is less visible, but all the tentacles of Israeli control are still there.

If "peace" were to exist under current conditions, Palestinian airports would be staffed by Israeli personnel with the right to run computer checks on people entering or leaving the country. Palestinian passports would require Israeli authorization. Israeli control would be exerted right down to the design on Palestinian postage stamps. The "peace process" has failed to stop the illegal expansion of Jewish settlements on Arab lands or bring about the release of the 14,000 Palestinian political prisoners rotting in Israeli jails. Nor has it extended repatriation rights to the Palestinian refugees who currently number over 3.5 million people living in exile and poverty outside of Israel and the West Bank. Under the Israeli law of return, any Jewish citizen in the world can enjoy the privilege of immediate Israeli citizenship upon entering Israel. Whereas the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, still living in refugee camps, lose hope of ever going home.

The peace process has left the most discriminatory policies against the Palestinian peoples unaddressed by Israel or the United States. Oslo was signed without providing the Palestinians any guarantee of Israel reversing its policy of "silent transfer" in which, since 1967, it has been systematically and deliberately ridding East Jerusalem of its Arab residents. Palestinians are viewed as a "demographic threat" to Israeli control of East Jerusalem, which before 1967 was 99% Arab.

The Israeli government has revoked the residency status of thousands of Palestinians, forcing entire families to leave Jerusalem. Fourty per cent of the land once owned by Palestinians in East Jerusalem has been forcibly confiscated to build 39,000 new housing units, exclusively for Jews, most of whom were not born in Israel; while new housing for Palestinians is almost non-existent, with double the number of people sharing one house compared to Jewish residents of Jerusalem. Palestinians of Jerusalem are systematically denied permits to build or expand their homes in the city. As a result, they are forced to build without permits, after which they are bulldozed as "illegal construction". Two thousand Palestinian homes in the Jerusalem area are slated for demolition. This long-term policy of discrimination and forcing Palestinians to leave the city has produced a severe housing shortage among East Jerusalem Palestinians. And to add insult to injury, Arab Jerusalem, the religious, commercial, health, educational and cultural centre for the 2.5 million Palestinians throughout the occupied territories, has been closed off to all Palestinians living outside of Jerusalem. This all in era of celebrated peace. There is no wonder the Palestinians have taken to the streets again.

SDP: **What is the U.S interest in Israel ?**

B.A. There are volumes written on this. Noam Chomsky's work is the best I've read. United States, no surprises, has direct military, strategic and economic interests in maintaining an Israeli hegemony in Palestine. Israel on many levels is the US puppet in the Middle East and Israel's security, again , was used as a pretext for the heinous bombing of Iraqi civilians, shamefully supported by what is a rather right-wing Jewish establishment in the US and Canada. The US policy toward Israel and other Arab countries is rife with double standards. For instance, when Iraq invaded Kuwait, the US declared war on Iraq. When Israel invades South Lebanon, the US is quiet. A Made in America peace will always reflect the US/Israeli interests and that is to maintain Western corporate control over the land, resources, labour and markets of the Arab world and continue the economic dependency of the Palestinians on the West, including Israel. The Arabs are portrayed as the bogeyman you can never trust and the United States asserts its position as the globo-Cop who exerts a civilizing influence on the less - than -civilized Arabs. Peace, in American terms, is that which conforms most accurately to American interests and no peace is ever signed without the American stamp of approval.

SDP: **What kind of solidarity activities are happening amongst Israeli Jews?**

B.A. It has often been observed that the level of critique of Israel's oppressive policies and practices towards the Palestinians is far more developed and given freer expression within Israel than amongst non-Israeli Jews. North American Jewish communities tend to be far more reactionary. Perhaps, its easier to be idealistic about Zionism when you don't see the day by day effects its had on social relations. I met many Israelis who thought Zionism is a crock of shit, but they're Israelis and they're not leaving and they don't want their kids to grow up in a bloodbath, learning to hate, never being able to enjoy a normal existence so to speak. They are practical about peace. They define peace in terms of the mutual self-interest of the two communities; as well as what is ethical and the right thing to do from a humanitarian perspective. In 1982, when Israel invaded Beirut, half the country took to the streets in protest. There is a vibrant peace and women's movement; and many Palestinian-Jewish women's organizations such as Bat Shalom and the Jerusalem Link. As well, there are excellent organizations like B'Tselem: The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories and the West Bank Data Project which closely monitor and document human rights abuses and analyze Israeli occupation practices. There are groups like Shalom Achshav (Peace Now) whose members have shown solidarity with Palestinians in blockading bulldozers when Palestinian olive trees were being cleared to build Har Homah in East Jerusalem or who've helped rebuild demolished homes; as well as acted as human rights observers. As well, there is a movement of army reservists who do jail time once a year for a month instead of their military service in the West Bank. And then there's the Women in Black who have protested in the streets of Jerusalem every Friday night for the last 33 years to end the occupation. There is a lot going on to fight the colossal injustices against our Palestinian brothers and sisters.

SDP: **What plans do you have in terms of solidarity organizing locally?**

B.A. I'm right now organizing to host a visit with Salim Shawamreh and Jee Halper, a couple of Israeli and Palestinian activists with the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) who are on a national tour raising awareness and mobilizing action to stop the house demolitions and related policies. They'll be in Victoria on February 13 and 14th.

SDP: **Do you have any additional comments?**

B.A. I don't think Israel as long as it tries to win our liberation at the expense of the Palestinians, will ever free a single Jew. Racism, the belief that one cultural or ethnic group is more important and deserving than another, can never bring liberation for anybody. Jews must challenge our own patterns of fear, complacency and chauvinism to build together, with Palestinians, Jews and non-Jews, a society based on equal rights, true democracy and mutual self-determination. Its the common struggle for social justice, an end to poverty, exploitation, racism and the structures of capitalism that breed inequity and want , that might at the end of the day be the thread that unites us. I believe that is the only path to a lasting peace in Israel/ Palestine. Thankfully, there are a growing number of Israeli and non-Israeli Jews who are motivated by the awareness that without justice, there can be no peace.

RECLAIM THE CITIES

From Protest to Popular Power

by Cindy Milstein

"Direct action gets the goods," proclaimed the Industrial Workers of the World nearly a century ago. And in the short time since Seattle, this has certainly proven to be the case. Indeed, "the goods" reaped by the new direct action movement here in North America have included creating doubt as to the scope and nature of globalization, shedding light on the nearly unknown workings of international trade and finance bodies, and making anarchism and anti-capitalism almost household words. As if that weren't enough, we find ourselves on the streets of twenty-first-century metropolises demonstrating our power to resist in a way that models the good society we envision: a truly democratic one.

But is this really what democracy looks like?

The impulse to "reclaim the streets" is an understandable one. When industrial capitalism first started to emerge in the early nineteenth century, its machinations were relatively visible. Take, for instance, the enclosures. Pasture lands that had been used in common for centuries to provide villages with their very sustenance were systematically fenced off—enclosed—in order to graze sheep, whose wool was needed for the burgeoning textile industry. Communal life was briskly thrust aside in favor of privatization, forcing people into harsh factories and crowded cities.

Advanced capitalism, as it pushes past the fetters of even nation-states in its insatiable quest for growth, encloses life in a much more expansive yet generally invisible way: fences are replaced by consumer culture. We are raised in an almost totally commodified world where nothing comes for free, even futile attempts to remove oneself from the market economy. This commodification seeps into not only what we eat, wear, or do for fun but also into our language, relationships, and even our very biology and minds. We have lost not only our communities and public spaces but control over our own lives; we have lost the ability to define ourselves outside capitalism's grip, and thus genuine meaning itself begins to dissolve.

"Whose Streets? Our Streets!" then, is a legitimate emotional response to the feeling that even the most minimal of public, noncommodified spheres has been taken from us. Yet in the end, it is simply a frantic cry from our cage. We have become so confined, so thoroughly damaged, by capitalism as well as state control that crumbs appear to make a nourishing meal.

Temporarily closing off the streets during direct actions does provide momentary spaces in which to practice democratic process, and even offers a sense of empowerment, but such events leave power for power's sake, like the very pavement beneath our feet, unchanged. Only when the serial protest mode is escalated into a struggle for popular or horizontal power can we create cracks in the figurative concrete, thereby opening up ways to challenge capitalism, nation-states, and other systems of domination.

This is not to denigrate the direct action movement in the United States and elsewhere; just the opposite. Besides a long overdue and necessary critique of numerous institutions of command and obedience, the movement is quietly yet crucially supplying the outlines of a freer society. This prefigurative politics is, in fact, the very strength and vision of today's direct action, where the means themselves are understood to also be the ends. We're not putting off the good society until some distant future but attempting to carve out room for it in the here and now, however tentative and contorted under the given social order. In turn, this consistency of means and ends implies an ethical approach to politics. How we act now is how we want others to begin to act, too.

We try to model a notion of goodness even as we fight for it.

This can implicitly be seen in the affinity group and spokescouncil structures for decision making at direct actions. Both supply much needed spaces in which to school ourselves in direct democracy. Here, in the best of cases, we can proactively set the agenda, carefully deliberate together over questions, and come to decisions that strive to take everyone's needs and desires into account. Substantive discussion replaces checking boxes on a ballot; face-to-face participation replaces handing over our lives to so-called representatives; nuanced and reasoned solutions replace lesser-of-two-(or-three-)evils' thinking. The democratic process utilized during demonstrations decentralizes power even as it offers tangible solidarity; for example, affinity groups afford greater and more diverse numbers of people a real share in decision making, while spokescouncils allow for intricate coordination—even on a global level. This is, as 1960s' activists put it, the power to create rather than destroy.

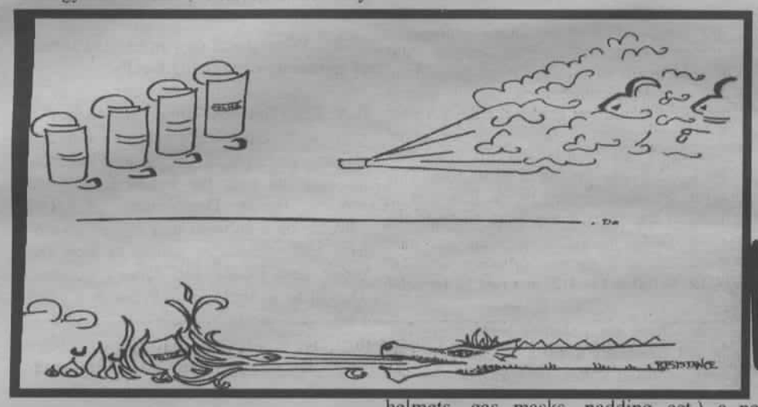
The beauty of this new movement, it could be said, is that it strives to take its own ideals to heart. In doing so, it has perhaps unwittingly created the demand for such directly democratic practices on a permanent basis. Yet the haunting question underlying episodic "street democracy" remains unaddressed: How can everyone come together to make decisions that affect society as a whole in participatory, mutualistic, and ethical ways? In other words, how can each and every one of us—not just a counterculture or this protest movement—really transform and ultimately control our lives and that of our communities?

This is, in essence, a question of power—who has it, how it is used, and to what ends. To varying degrees, we all know the answer in relation to current institutions and systems. We can generally explain what we are against. That is exactly why we are protesting, whether it is against capitalism and/or nation-states, or globalization in whole or part. What we have largely failed to articulate, however, is any sort of response in relation to liberatory institutions and systems. We often can't express, especially in any coherent and utopian manner, what we are for. Even as we prefigure a way of making power horizontal, equitable, and hence, hopefully an essential part of a free society, we ignore the reconstructive vision that a directly democratic process holds up right in front of our noses.

For all intents and purposes, our movement remains trapped. On the one hand, it reveals and confronts domination and exploitation. The political pressure exerted by such widespread agitation may even be able to influence current power structures to amend some of the worst excesses of their ways; the powers that be have to listen, and respond to some extent, when the voices become too numerous and too loud. Nevertheless, most people are still shut out of the decision-making process itself, and consequently, have little tangible power over their lives at all. Without this ability to self-govern, street actions translate into nothing more than a countercultural version of interest group lobbying, albeit far more radical than most and generally unpaid.

What the movement forgets is the promise implicit in its own structure: that power not only needs to be contested; it must also be constituted anew in liberatory and egalitarian forms. This entails taking the movement's directly democratic process seriously—not simply as a tactic to organize protests but as the very way we organize society, specifically the political realm. The issue then becomes: How do we begin to shift the strategy, structure, and values of our movement to the most grassroots level of public policy making?

The most fundamental level of decision making in a demonstration is the affinity group. Here, we come together as friends or because of a common identity, or a combination of the two. We share something in particular; indeed, this common identity is often reflected in the name we choose for our groups. We may not always agree with each other, but there is a fair amount of homogeneity precisely because we've consciously chosen to come together for a specific reason—most often having little to .....con't on page 14



Golden Opportunities

It has been one year since Seattle. I have noticed trends in the mass mobilizations that I have been apart of since then. We can be assured that since Seattle had an impact, that people will use it as a model until it is dead. What we need to be careful of is underestimating the police. Catching the police off guard will never happen again unless we up the ante and change that model with every mass mobilization. People who are serious about trying not to get their head bashed in, pepper sprayed, sprayed with questionable chemical weapons and arrested every time they exercise their democratic rights on this scale must start talking about tactics. We are very creative and can come up with effective tools to agitate and agitate with relative safety. We need equipment to defend ourselves with (i.e. helmets, gas masks, padding ect.) a stronger training in civil disobedience so that we are more solid in action and chaos, stronger communications including flow of information on a large scale during actions and in small groups concerning decision making within actions, and tactics as far as what we do as an action. These things have all been said, we now must make the time for them to be discussed. We must come together without the excuse of a 'cause' to plan and train. The police are not going away, they don't care that our intentions may be peaceful (they definitely care if they aren't peaceful). We have to start taking ourselves seriously. If we want to up the ante things will get more severe and we will have to be prepared. If we are a force to be reckoned with then we have to train like a force to be reckoned with.

On the topic of tactics, not everyone agrees with certain tactics, (violence vs. non-violence). I think there is enough room in this world for people to swallow their egos and at least not try to shut each other down. I think that it is advantageous at this point in this movement to have people with different levels of militancy. There are many different roles to play, but for Christ's sake the least we can do is support each other. Has anyone heard of COINTELPRO! The FBI can't use it on us if we are already doing the work for them. For instance if more militant people want to carry out property destruction then why can't people who don't want to, do support like education, first aid, marches that distract the police, theatre, music, petition. Most forms of political action can be useful.

Let's challenge ourselves and multitask. I believe that in order to have an impact on globalization than more militant action will be needed, this is war; it is race war and class war and gender war. Fascism will not step down if we ask it too. Although we have to be effective in how we fight it and that means utilizing all skill, and creative talent. Violence will not discredit this movement; the media will discredit this movement because they are paid to discredit this movement. It goes right back to tactics, if we

trained together under the understanding that we have a common enemy, we can create tactics that support each other and help us move foreword. Those tactics can be safer and more effective and with our numbers then we might be able to have a larger impact. We need to learn from each other and from

our different beliefs. If we don't unite we lose, and then pride won't matter anymore.

Continued pg. 14

Elaho Valley 2000
by Most Mouse

waking the dragon
DIRECT ACTION NEWS

Snow has come to the Elaho and the Squamish Valley. Mauled salmon carcasses spot the riverside as the grizzly bears put on winter fat and build dens inside millennial red cedars. So far this year, 31 people have been arrested. Fourteen others, arrested in 1999, were given the longest jail sentences for forest blockade actions in Canadian history. Winter has come, but the movement to defend the land will never cease until the animals are safe and the forests protected.

The Elaho, in "British Columbia", Canada, has become the focus of a determined campaign to protect not only frontline grizzly habitat and 1300-year-old Douglas fir giants, but the entire temperate rainforest ecosystem. The fight in BC is not just about fragments of trees, the struggle here is to protect living wilderness, big wilderness. The Elaho Valley is unceded Squamish and Lil'Wat territory. Ninety-seven percent of BC has never been ceded by the First Nations to the government. No treaties have been signed, no bargains have been made. Despite this the government continues to hand Native lands away to multinational logging companies to liquidate and transform into tree farms. The land and the trees are stolen, with no recognition of Native title to these lands. Each year the Annual Allowable Cut (AAC) is roughly 80 million cubic meters. In this hemisphere, the rate of deforestation in British Columbia is second only to Brazil. The forest industry is lobbying the provincial government to increase the cut to 100 million cubic meters of wood per year (note for Yanks-one cubic meter = 220 board feet; 100 million cubic meters is 22 billion board feet).

Through the abolition of the corporate controlled land tenure system, the restoration of Native sovereignty and the institution of community controlled forestry different mechanisms of a sustainable economy can be built, without communities being held hostage to a global order controlled by forestry multinationals. The Elaho is a place where people are taking a stand using about every tool in the box. We must defend the wild; an attack on part of the web of life is an attack on all and here there is a web of life still to defend.

Direct action in the Elaho began in 1997. The first treesit arrest was August 18,1999. Since that time, the struggle has been continuous. The Elaho has been called the most controversial environmental campaign in Canada. Government and company tactics have included a six-week logger blockade of the road into the valley; the declaration of a "green free zone," meaning business in the town of Squamish would not serve people perceived as environmentalists; and the declaration of Operation Defend to protect "all of BC's working communities against the global eco-elite." Other International Forest Products (Interfor) tactics included three separate mob attacks of non-violent protesters by Interfor employees with the covert assistance of management and active police collusion. In each case, intense verbal threats and abuse were enforced with physical attacks. The infamous September 15, 1999 melee (see EF!J December/January 1999) saw over 80 Interfor employees assault nine non-violent protesters, hospitalizing three and completely destroying the camp. Public reaction to this attack was so strong that the police were forced to actually lay five charges of assault. Those charges will be heard in Squamish court in December....

Tripod Todd was arrested October 23. Kudos to a hard core crew who did not back down. Interfor has 24-hour security patrolling the roads in the valley. Unfortunately a security crew was able to dismantle road blockades and surprise the action while the tripod was still on the ground. Although the majority of the plan was abandoned, fiery, hooded wood elves came out of the dark and chased the bad security men into their truck and kept on the action. The elves whipped tarps over the windows of the truck, and with some hooting and hollering, kept the rent-a-cops in their place while the work needing doing was done.

Outside the scope of public civil disobedience organized by the Friends of the Elaho, there are several other groups working above and underground. It is claimed that several hundred trees in the Upper Elaho were spiked in May by the Lorax. There have also been many unclaimed incidents of bridge spiking and serious machine damage.

Most recently, in a communique November 30, 2000 an underground group known only as the *Monkey Wrench Gang* is claiming a recent act of sabotage. George Hayduke, the group's media liason, says the gang recently crippled a giant generator owned by International Forests Products by pouring abrasives into the machine's crankcase while it was running. "Sabotage is easy," said Hayduke. "All you need is determination, and a little grit." Another recent press release from Elaho Earth First! states "Steve Crombie, Interfor's director of public affairs, said Interfor has spent $1.5 million since September 1999, because of "damage to equipment, vandalism, legal costs and security. That's not including down-time, when the crews were unable to work. In contrast, Crombie said the international boycott campaign led by Greenpeace has had "no real impact."

In the Elaho, there is continuing resistance to the capitalist model of industrial forestry that seeks to exploit forests, animals and people to make short term profits for corporate shareholders. The camp has been taken down this year, but next spring when the snow melts in the rainforest, people will be back and standing up for some of the last remaining wilderness. Over the winter, city actions will be happening in Vancouver and other communities in BC. The network of resistance is growing, as people and communities work to defend wilderness and native lands.

Note: For more information, contact Friends of the Elaho, 1895 Commercial Drive, #17, Vancouver, BC V5N 4A6; (604)255-4145; elaho.tao.ca; elaho@tao.ca, or Elaho EF! at earth_first@ziplip.com. For St'at'imc Nation support:Chief Garry John (250) 256-7523 or Ramona (604) 894-2462.

A.L.F. CLAIM FIRE ATTACK ON MEAT TRUCKS

December 13, 2000

VANCOUVER, B.C. - The underground Animal Liberation Front has claimed responsibility for an attack on several trucks belonging to an east Vancouver meat company. In an anonymous Communique sent to the ALF Press Office, the activists said that in the early morning hours of Dec. 11 they planted incendiary devices under three trucks at Ferry Meat Market, 1502 E. Hastings.

It initially appears that two of the devices have possibly failed. Yesterday, an employee with Ferry Meat Market told the ALF Press Office that only one truck was damaged, and that it was towed away in the morning. The extent of the total damage remains unclear .

The Animal Liberation Front is an international underground movement of people who choose to take non-violent direct action against animal abuse industries. These actions include liberating animals and property destruction. The ALF adhere to a strict code of non-violence which states that no injury or death must come to any animal or human in the course of the action. In the twenty years of ALF activity in North America this guideline has never been breached.

"Meat companies and packing plants are frequent targets of animal liberation activists because of the inherent cruelty of raising an animal for slaughter," comments David Barbarash, ALF spokesperson. "From the rearing of cows, pigs and chickens, to their confinement, to their ultimate slaughter all involve cruelty, pain, suffering and ultimately, death."

Ferry Meat Market trucks were damaged as part of a continued campaign of economic sabotage. The ALF have been active in Vancouver since the late 1980's and throughout the 1990's, targeting mainly meat and fur businesses. They have also previously used fire as a tactic against local meat stores when on April 24, 1989 three such Vancouver stores were firebombed.

The North American ALF Press Office is run independently and seperately from the ALF, and is not a participant in illegal activities. The Press Office receives and forwards information from the underground activists.

The full text of the Ferry Meat Market Communique is as follows:

"Three incendiary devices were placed underneath three meat delivery vehicles in the early morning of December 11. Ferry Meat Market at 1205 East Hastings was chosen because of its involvement with the barbaric meat trade that claims billions of lives yearly. All businesses large or small which participate in animal abusing industries will continue to be targetted as a part of the ALF's ongoing campaign to end the slaughter of animals for profit. Let it be known to those with blood on their hands that we are watching.

Animal Liberation Front"

G20 Montreal By Giddy

I had the golden opportunity to be in Montreal for the G20 protest gone bad.

It was typical of many rallies, over 500 people from Concordia, McGill and old Montreal Cegep. To make a long story short, we got chased for hours by aggressive police on foot, and on horses. Very few people sat down in the streets to perform civil disobedience. I don't know if this is because people aren't trained or if because the police where looking for blood. (which they found of course). We got corralled through the streets of Montreal as the cops broke us up and eventually arrested over 50 people and beat up who ever they could. I am not a big fan of running from the police, let alone in the dark, in a city I don't know where I don't speak the language. The rally of day two was in the hands of few communist men who gave speeches and talked against violence. People formed lines in front of the police but turned their back on them to show their disgrace and their dedication to non-violence. Please. It lasted hours and accomplished nothing but entertainment for the worlds richest few. Day three was even worse when we tried to march downtown, people would not get close to the police barricades but rather wanted to sit in an intersection with no traffic control. The communist leaders felt that if they got to close to the police, 'black clad ninja anarchists were going to start throwing shit'.

So the group followed this man and listened to him speak about oppression and we tried to dance capitalism away. Are you surprised that it didn't work? Me too. Day three we entertained the cops and the richest men in the world. Not so fun.

St'at'imc Resistance at Melvin Creek

Since May 2nd, St'at'imc people have reoccupied their traditional territory in the Melvin and Cayoosh Creek drainages north of Mt. Currie in "british columbia," "kanada." They are blocking the development of a "Whistler-style" ski resort, which Canadian Superstar Nancy Greene-Raine and her hubbie Al Raine have been proposing since the early '90's. Despite Al Raine's promise that the project would not proceed without First Nations support, their proposal has been approved by the government and just recently surveyors snuck behind the blockade and flagged cutting boundaries.

The camp is called Sutikalh to honor the winter spirit which lives in the mountains around Melvin Creek. Over the past 7 months, the camp has evolved from a blockade into a community which is breaking away from the government controlled reserve system. Many St'at'imc people have come to the camp, relearning traditional ways of living with the land, harvesting edible plants including 9 different types of berries, picking mushrooms, fishing, gathering sacred medicine, and building an Ishka (pithouse) for a winter dwelling. Next spring, the St'at'imc will be building a longhouse at Sutikalh. The water flowing around the camp is some of the purest in the world, according to tests by hydrologists. Grizzly, lynx, mountain goats and wolverines are a few species living in the last pristine watershed in St'at'imc territory.

Initially, the camp was started without support from the band council. The band council was attempting to put off discussion on the resort proposal until next year, saying that people were not concerned with the issue. Melvin Creek supporters and St'at'imc sovereigntists through community outreach, rallies and information handouts, forced the band council to have a referendum, with resulted in Mt.Currie with 240 people against the resort and only 40 for it. Because of the continued resistance and the community support for Melvin Creek, many of the Chiefs have come to support the camp.

On August 14th, the government gave approved the ski resort, so the St'at'imc blockaded the main highway for 18 hours just to show the government, Al Raine, and the world what they were prepared and able to do. In 1990, the St'at'imc blockaded the same highway for over 4 months to assert their native title to the land and to demand an end to logging on their lands. There has always been a strong sovereigntist movement within the St'at'imc, as they have rejected the jurisdiction of the "kanadian" and "bc" governments over their traditional territories. Sta'at'imc territory, according to the 1911 Declaration of the Lilloet (St'at'imc) Tribe, "has been continually occupied by us (St'at'imc people) from time out of mind." The St'at'imc people at Melvin Creek are prepared to defend their territory by any means necesary.

As the nearby Whistler Ski Resort has shown, capitalist ski resorts do not create meaningful employment or a healthy community as Al Raine and others claim, but instead forces slave labor; fast food, snow shoveling and ski lift operator jobs to the community. Many of the original promises that were made when Whistler was first developed in the mid '70's, including a public transit system and plentiful employment, were never honored, but the greedy ski developers are once again promising the same thing. Nancy Greene-Raine, the gold medal champion, even went to the schools to convince the children that a ski resort would be good for them and telling them how much fun skiing is, despite the fact that only 5% of canadian's ski and that most people can not afford the ridiculous prices that ski resorts charge. Nearby, outside of Kelowna, the Shushwap have set up camp on the edge of Sun Peaks Resorts (another resort that Al Raine is an owner of), to blockade Sun Peak's development plans.

On November 10th, a group of about 8 men burned the information and welcome lean-to, along with their pamplets and banners. This is yet another mob attack in a long history of violence, abuse, theft, and genocide since first contact with Europeans over a hundred years ago. Melvin Creek defenders are not scared by these cowardly racist tactics, they will stand and defend their territories to the death, so that it will remain wild for future generations.

They have asked for support spreading the word, coming up to the camp, or sending donations of food, money, and gear.

contact
Rosalin: (604) 894-2400
Ramona: (604) 894-2462
Chief Garry John, St'at'imc Chiefs Council
(250) 256-7523 Lilloet Tribal Council, (250) 259-8227 Seton Lake Band, (604) 868-8560 cell

Resisting capitalist globalization ... Mobilizing for Quebec City ...Creating radical alternatives ...http://www.q2001.org

From Cansolidated #7

Next April 20-22, 2001, Quebec City has the dubious honor of hosting the Summit of the Americas, which brings together the 34 heads of state of North, South and Central America, as well as the Caribbean (except Cuba).

Besides the usual scare-mongering about security and terrorism, and empty rhetoric about democracy and human rights, the stated purpose of the Summit will be to put the final touches on the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) agreement. The Summit of the Americas meeting will be largest police and security operation in Canadian history, all while the 34 leaders and an entourage of big business elites, technocrats and corporate media enjoy their cocktail parties, gala dinners and public relations spectacles.

The FTAA extends the NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) to the entire hemisphere, and is to be implemented by no later than 2005. The FTAA is also an extension of the reach of capitalist globalization, aiming to submit health care, education, as well as environmental and labor standards to the so-called logic of the free-market. Negotiated behind closed doors, and imposed unilaterally, the FTAA process is yet another example of the kind of economic violence that aims to suppress the gains of popular struggles of the past, and reinforce the power of cash and cops over our lives.

Next April in Quebec City, the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (La Convergence des luttes anti-capitalistes, or CLAC, in French) will participate in a large-scale grassroots mobilization against the FTAA. The CLAC, which is based in Montreal, is organizing a Carnival Against Capitalism (which will include teach-ins, conferences, workshops, concerts, cabarets, street theatre, direct actions, protests and more) as well as helping to convene a North American conference in conjunction with Peoples' Global Action against "Free" Trade (PGA). We are hoping to facilitate a convergence in Quebec City of a vast array of people who aim to create a world free of oppression.

THE HISTORY OF THE VANCOUVER FIVE

by Jim Campbell
This article was originally published in Kick It Over Spring 2000.

Linking anarchism to deliberate acts of violence might seen very natural to most people if they think about anarchism at all. But for most younger anarchists, it must be difficult to imagine that in the early '80s armed struggle in Canada not only seemed possible, but a small group coming out of the anarchist community in Vancouver actually engaged in it. Moreover there was small but significant support for all three actions claimed by Direct Action and the Wimmen's Fire Brigade.

Political struggle didn't end in the early '70s with the end of the Vietnam war. The anti-war, and other movements had pulled back, but miltants had gone underground to wage war against the system. Insurrection in Europe seemed possible as the Red Army Fraction and the Red Brigades assassinated and kidnapped politicians and corporate executives. In the16

U.S, the Black Liberation Army, formed when Black Panthers went underground, was active until 1981. The United Freedom Front (UFF) and the Armed Resistance Movement were active into the early '80s, bombing government buildings to protest American military involvement in Central America and attacking corporate targets to protest their involvement in South Africa.

On the west coast, a multitude of small groups robbed banks, set off bombs and kidnapped Patty Hearst, a wealthy heiress. Some of these were explicitly anarchist or anti-authoritarians. Bill Dunne and Larry Giddings, for example, were anarchists who continue to be imprisoned in the U.S. today for trying to break a friend out of jail. The George Jackson Brigade was anti-authoritarian, pro-woman, pro-gay and lesbian and advocated collective as opposed to party politics. Even though all of these groups were eventually crushed, they did offer a political alternative to organizing demonstrations and putting out papers
The Canadian anarchist papers, Open Road in Vancouver, Bulldozer in Toronto, and Resistance, which started in Toronto and then shifted to Vancouver, covered the armed resistance in the U.S. and in Europe and the subsequent repression. We published communiques explaining actions, provided supportive coverage of trials and offered an outlet for the writings of the captured combatants and their supporters. Revolution, or at least a protracted struggle, seemed quite possible. Direct Action and the Wimmen's Fire Brigade were part of this wave of armed struggle in North American, part of a broader anti-NATO, anti-war machine politic. The perspective was very much internationalist even if it was understood that it meant working within one's own local and national situation.

In the spring of 1982 a bomb destroyed the nearly completed Cheekeye-Dunsmuir Hydro substation. It's construction had been strongly opposed by local residents on environmental grounds. It was thought that it would lead to the industrialization of Vancouver island and the construction of nuclear power plants for export sales to the U. S. Several hundred pounds of dynamite stopped that plan in its tracks. There was a lot of local support for the action. It wasn't clear whether or not Direct Action, which had claimed the action, was an anarchist group, in a sense it didn't make any difference. The action had raised the political stakes in Canada. But as the bombing had taken place in the wilderness, it was easy to ignore. The next action wouldn't be.

In the late evening of October 14, 1982, a truck exploded outside the Litton Industries plant in Rexdale, in the northwest corner of Toronto resulting in million of dollars in damages. Seven workers were injured, one permanently. After a few days, Direct Action issued a communique claiming responsibility. As a political piece, the communique is as relevant today as it was in 1982, the only change being that the cold war is over. In a second written statement, they took responsibility for a series of errors which resulted in the injuries, especially for seeing the cops and security guards as super heroes. They weren't.

To ensure that the bomb would be taken seriously, they drove the van in front of a glass-enclosed security booth and parked in front of the factory. The guards didn't notice the truck even though the van driver could clearly see them. Then the phoned-in warning was not understood. But at least it drew the attention of the guards to the van. Unfortunately Direct Action was a bit too clever. They had placed a box painted fluorescent orange outside the truck, easily visible from the security booth. On top of the box they placed a sheet of paper with information and instructions. They expected the guards to come over to the box once they received the phone warning. To emphasize the seriousness of the situation, they placed a stick of unarmed dynamite on top of the

box. The guards avoided the box, given that they didn't know that the dynamite on the box was unarmed. In spite of the obvious threat, they didn't start to evacuate the plant until 20 minutes after receiving the warning. And then the bomb went off early, probably set off by radio signals from the arriving police cars.

The bombing took place at a time when the possibility of nuclear war was very real. Both sides were attempting to achieve first strike nuclear capability through new weapons such as the Cruise and Perishing Missiles, the Trident Submarines, and the Neutron Bomb. In response, a peace movement developed in Europe, North America and elsewhere. Canada's agreement to let the U. S. test the Cruise over northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories was seen as a particular affront by peace activists. Litton had been the focus of extensive protests by peace groups since they were producing the guidance systems for the Cruise. But the protests were going nowhere.

The initial reaction of many radicals and activists was joyful on first seeing the headlines in the paper. But this changed on more sober reflection as the implications were thought through. The bombing wasn't just a threat to the militarized state, but to the peaceful coexistence so many activists have with the system. It is clear that even with the injuries, there was not much reaction to it by the average person. For most people the bombing was only another spectacular event in a world gone mad.

, it certainly was a major event for the anarchists and the pacifists. The anarchist-communist paper, Strike!, which came out of Toronto, initially condemned the action because it would discredit the movement. It repeated the usual critique that such actions could not by themselves do anything. Direct Action never claimed that it would. To quote the communique, "(while we have no illusions that direct actions, such as this one, can by themselves bring about the end of Canada's role as a resource based economic and military functionary of Western Imperialism, we do believe that militant direct actions can have a constructive function as a springboard to the kind of consciousness and organization that must be developed if we are to overcome the nuclear masters."

A more sophisticated critique was issued anonymously by anarchists around Kick It Over. They complained that "the bombing at Litton can not be said to have increased the self-activity of either the community or the employees at the plant". Fair enough, though the same point can be said about putting out newspapers and most other things we do. These anarchists didn't condemn Direct Action for being violent, rather they put the violence in the context of state violence. Though wrongly labeling the bombing as "Vanguard Terror", it was valid to say that "clandestine organizations tend to become isolated from the people" and see their continued existence as becoming a goal in itself. Again this problem is not unique to underground groups.

In early November, less than a month after the bombing, the Toronto Globe and Mail ran a major front page article linking the Litton bombing to the Vancouver anarchist community. It quoted unnamed anarchists who drew out the similarities between the politics of Direct Action and the Vancouver anarchist scene. In a later, more sympathetic article, other anarchists provided some background information as to what the purpose of the bombing might be without explicitly claiming that it was an anarchist action. This article was condemned by many anarchists in Toronto but it did help to get the ideas to a wider public.

In mid December, the offices of the main peace groups in Toronto were raided along with the homes of some of their prominent members. Activists in Toronto and Peterborough were picked up and harassed and threatened by the police. It has never been clear to what extent the police actually thought that these pacifists were really suspects or whether the raids were simply used to disrupt their work against Litton. Some pacifists tried to put as much distance as possible between themselves and the bombers. But there was enough support from other pacifists to show that there need not be a total split between militants, whatever their position might be on the use of violence. The largest demonstration ever to occur against Litton happened on November 11, 1982 less than a month after the bombing. As we said at the time, armed actions can make other forms of protest more visible, rather than less credible.

Litton lost a major contract shortly after the bombing. As Litton President Ronald Keating put it, "(t)hey (the protesters) are an irritant, they get a lot of publicity, and the Americans read every damn bit of it. Pressure from these people is making the Americans look twice. " He added rather sadly that, "no one else has been bombed."

In early November, in Vancouver, the Wimmen's Fire Brigade firebombed three Red Hot Video stores. This American chain built up an inventory of video tapes pirated from hard-core porn films. According to Open Road, "(m)any of the films depicted not only explicit sex scenes, but women being trussed up, beaten, raped, tortured, forced to undergo enemas by armed intruders and other forms of degradation." Women's groups had been fighting for six months against Red Hot Video, but there was no response from the province. Within a few weeks, scores of women's groups of all stripes had issued statements of sympathy and understanding for the action, demonstrations had been held in a dozen centres across the province, and six porn shops had closed, moved away or withdrawn much of their stock out of fear they would be the next target. Within two months the first charges were laid for combining explicit sex with violence.

The Wimmen's Fire Brigade action was so successful because it was so well integrated into, and complimentary to the public campaign. As B.C. Blackout, a biweekly autonomist newsletter put it, "the action of the WFB could only have the impact it did because of the months of spade work by many groups and individuals educating themselves, doing research, making contacts, pressuring the authorities, documenting their case—in short, building the infrastructure for an effective, grass roots, above-board movement."

January 20, 1983, near Squamish, B.C. the Five were returning to Vancouver from target practice in the mountains. The police, dressed as Department of Highway workers, stopped their van and in a violent attack pulled them out of the van and arrested them at gun point. They were charged with 12 to 15 counts, including Red Hot Video, Cheekeye-Dunsmuir, conspiracy to rob a Brink's truck, as well as conspiracy to commit more bombings. Immediately after the arrests, the police had a news conference at which displayed the extensive weaponry which they claimed had been seized from the Five. This was the beginning of what came to be called, "Trial by Media" as the police and prosecution used the media to try to contaminate public opinion not only against the Five, but against the anarchist movement in general. Newspaper headlines screamed about "police netting terrorists" and "national network of anarchist cells." The police raided 4 homes in Vancouver the morning after the first support group meeting. No arrests were made, but typewriters were seized and people were subjected to verbal abuse.

The official police story was that the break in the case came when a reporter from the Globe and Mail showed anarchist papers to the Toronto police who, noticing the

Continued Page 13

Continued from page 12...

Cheekeye-Dunsmuir communique in Resistance, sent the Post Office Box address to Vancouver. The cops there supposedly put the box under surveillance and were eventually able to track down the Five through a series of contacts. The story was convincing enough that the reporter was going to apply for the substantial reward before being talked out of it by more conscious and principled friends.

What this story was a cover for was that the police were already very aware of the Five. They had been under police surveillance for one reason or another since well before the first action. Brent Taylor and Ann Hansen in particular were pretty notorious in Vancouver. A cop didn't have to be too bright to consider them as possible suspects. Activists who didn't even know them thought they probably had something to do with Direct Action. They were the only ones who regularly went to demonstrations all masked up, looking much more prepared for demonstrations in Germany than in Vancouver.

It is quite likely that the security police had actually watched them do the Red Hot Video actions. This became very relevant at the trials. The Vancouver police obtained warrants to tap their phones and bug their house in order to investigate Red Hot Video. Such warrants are only supposed to be issued as a last resort when all other means of investigation have failed. But these were issued shortly after the firebombing happened. Moreover, they were not needed if the police already knew who had participated in the attacks. The RCMP security service had watched them commit other crimes and had them under observation at the time of Red Hot Video. But there were no surveillance notes covering the period of the actual attack. It was assumed that the wire taps were actually needed by the police to connect the Five to Litton, for which it would have been more difficult for the Vancouver police to obtain a legal warrant. The evidence obtained through these bugs provided the bulk of the case against the Five which is why the first part of the eventual trial dealt with their legality.

On June 13, 1983, the Bulldozer house in Toronto was raided by the local Litton squad. The warrant, which included the charges of Sabotage of Litton, Seditious Libel, and Procuring an abortion allowed the police to specifically seize anything related to Bulldozer magazine. They took layout flats, letters, articles, magazines, and the mailing list. We finally got all this stuff back after a year of legal fighting.

The seditious libel charge was apparently related to a leaflet entitled "Peace, Paranoia and Politics" which laid out the politics around the Litton bombing, the peace movement and the arrests of the Five. Seditious Libel apparently involves calling for the armed overthrow of the state. *The last time the charge had been used was in 1950 against some trade unionists in Quebec.* Our lawyers eagerly anticipated defending us on this charge, but nothing ever came of it.

The Procuring an Abortion charge came about when an alleged menstrual extraction performed by a midwife, Colleen Crosby, on a member of the Bulldozer collective, had come to the attention of the police through phone taps. Crosby was picked up a week later by cops who drove her around for several hours, threatening to charge her with the procuring an abortion charge unless she told them about any links between Bulldozer and the Litton bombing. Crosby was would have refused to cooperate anyway, but she had no information to give. It took a couple of years and thousands of dollars in legal fees before the charge was eventually dropped.

Our political weakness—referring to both the Five and their supporters -- became apparent during the trial and the support work we did around the trial. The Five assumed that they would go down in a hail of bullets. Instead of the relative glory of the spectacular death, they had to deal with the much more pedestrian reality of sitting in jail awaiting trial. This lack of political and personal preparation for the almost inevitable consequences of their actions was compounded by a lack of preparation by their supporters. It is straightforward to reprint communiques from underground comrades. But it is much more difficult to handle raids and lawyers, harassing arrests, and watch friends and comrades distance themselves just when support and work is needed the most. One must be able to handle high-stress politics for what could be a period of years, while advancing politics that may not even be supported by one's own friends and political associates, let alone the wider society. Yet competent and principled above ground support is crucial if underground actions are to have any long term impact. The community in Vancouver was able to maintain a presence outside and inside the courtroom during the trial in spite of differences in strategy as to how to support them. In Toronto, we were able to keep the ideas in circulation, but had little public impact.

In the initial confusion, the right to a fair trial became the main demand. Since it seemed possible that the room bugs which provided the main body of evidence might be thrown out, this strictly legal course was hard to resist without prior political clarity as to how trials should be conducted. The right to a fair trial must not be ignored if the battle is going to be fought on the legal terrain at all. But it is the state's battleground, and their first weapon is criminalization. The Crown split the indictments into four trials, the first of which was on the least overtly political charges, weapons offenses and conspiracy to rob a Brink's truck. While it may be obvious to those who have a certain political understanding why guerrillas need weapons and money, television pictures of a desktop full of weapons, and reports of meticulous planning for a raid on a Brink's truck, were calculated to defuse claims that the Five were principled political activists. The fight for a fair trial did draw support from activists, progressive journalists and lawyers and human rights activists. But it can create real problems if the trial is made to appear legally "fair". Or when, as happened, the Five eventually pled guilty. Some people who did support work felt manipulated into supporting guilty people even though we tried to be clear that there is a difference between pleading not guilty and being innocent.

The Trial by Media strategy fell apart when the court ruled that the wire tap evidence was admissible. The first trial for the weapons and conspiracy to rob the Brink's truck began in January 1984. The evidence of the first 4 months mainly involved the surveillance prior to their arrests. In March, Julie Belmas and Gerry Hannah entered guilty pleas, including Red Hot Video, and for Julie, the Litton bombing. In April, Doug Stewart was ordered acquitted on the Brink's charge but found guilty of weapon offenses. In June, he pled guilty to Cheekeye-Dunsmuir. The jury found Ann and Brent guilty of all the charges from the first trial. In June, in a surprise move, Ann pled guilty to Cheekeye-Dunsmuir and Litton.

Brent was brought to Toronto for a trial around Litton and eventually pled guilty. Recognizing our own weakness, we told him that little could be gained politically in Toronto if the trial was to go ahead. In our relative isolation it was difficult to imagine taking on what would have to be a major effort to present the politics behind the bombing through a hostile mass media. Yet not doing so meant that there was never a longer-term focus nor sense of direction for those who might have been willing to come forward with more active support. It was not our most glorious moment.

To sum up this section, let me quote from Ann's sentencing statement, "(w)hen I was first arrested, I was intimidated and surrounded by the courts and prisons. This fear provided the basis for the belief that if I played the legal game, I would get acquitted or less time. This fear obscured my vision and fooled me into thinking that I could get a break from the justice system. But this eight months in court has sharpened my perceptions and strengthened my political convictions to see that the legal game is marked and political prisoners are dealt a marked deck."

Doug Stewart was sentenced to 6 years, and served the maximum 4. Gerry Hannah got ten years, but was out in 5. Julie, only 21 at the time of sentencing, got 20 years. She appealed and got five years off when she turned against Ann and Brent, effectively sabotaging their appeal. Many people were really pissed at this betrayal by Julie. But Julie's testimony was not the reason why Ann and Brent were convicted. If Julie really wanted to make a deal, she could have implicated other people by lying. This she didn't do.

Brent got 22 years, and Ann got life. The sentences, especially Julie's and Ann's were considered unduly harsh. But the state wanted to stamp out any incipient guerrilla activity. The prison system, though, controls how long people actually served. Ann and Brent were both out before 8 years were up. In comparison to what happens to American guerrillas, this was almost lenient.

Doug Stewart wrote in Open Road after their conviction that the size of the bombs was problematic. He suggested that medium-level attacks such as arson and mechanical sabotage are easier to do than bombings and large scale actions virtually demand going underground. Direct Action understood that they had to break off contact with other political people; that to do actions in one city, they should live in another. But this demands enormous emotional and personal sacrifices. It was the failure to completely cut off ties with friends and lovers that left a trail for the local police. Smaller actions are technically simpler and allow, as Stewart says, "a group to come together easily and quickly around a particular issue." Medium-level activity also "has a much less intense impact on one's personal life. If you are not underground, you are less emotionally isolated, and the overall stress level is very much lower. Capture for a medium-level action would be much less devastating in every way. A two or three year sentence is no joke, but it is substantially easier to deal with than a ten or twenty year one."

To summarize, let me quote from an article in Prison News Service written ten years after Litton: "Overt political actions such as these bombings, propaganda by deed, as they are known, are not understood in a non-political society. Even though few people will understand the motivations behind the attack, the positive side is that there won't necessarily be a major reaction against it either. It is an error to think that something like the Litton bombing will be a wake-up call for people to do something about a critical situation facing them. But properly explained it can make a difference to those people who are already concerned about the situation and who have become frustrated with other methods of dealing with the issue.

"Guerrilla actions are not an end in themselves; that is, a single act, or even a coordinated series of actions, has little likelihood of achieving little more than some immediate goal. Such actions are problematic if it is assumed that they can be substituted for above ground work. But if they can be situated within a broader politics, one tactic amongst many, then they can give the above ground movements more room to maneuver, making them both more visible and more credible. At the same time, activists are given a psychological lift, a sense of victory, regardless of how fleeting, so that they go about their own political work with a renewed enthusiasm...

"For most North American activists, armed struggle is reduced to a moral question: 'Should we, or should we not use violent means to advance the struggle?' Though this is relevant on a personal level, it only confuses what is really a political question. Most radicals, at this point in time anyway, are not going to become involved directly in armed attacks. But as resistance movements develop in North America - and they had better or we are all lost - it is inevitable that armed actions will be undertaken by some. The question remains if these armed actions will be accepted as part of the spectrum of necessary activity. Much will depend on whether people suffer harm or injuries. Far from being "terroristic", the history of armed struggle in North America shows that the guerrillas have been quite careful in selecting their targets. There is a major difference between bombing military or corporate targets, or even assassinating police in response to their use of violence, and setting off bombs on crowded city streets. The left in North America has never used random acts of terror against the general population. To denounce any who would choose to act outside of the narrowly defined limits of 'peaceful protest' in order to appear morally superior, or to supposedly avoid alienating people, is to give the state the right to determine what are the allowable limits of protest."

Repression is most effective when it is able to keep the radical ideas from being transmitted to a new generation of activists. If the ideas can be passed on, then the next wave of activists develop their politics from the base that has already been created. Fortunately, a relatively small, but very active milieu of young activists adopted many of the politics around Direct Action and developed them through such projects as Reality Now, the Anarchist Black Cross and Ecomedia. Their work in the peace, punk and native support movements, helped ensure that such politics did not end when the Five went to prison.

Based on a talk given for the Anarchist Lecture Series in Toronto.

BOOK & ZINE REVIEWS

"This morning's paper shouts a boldface headline: "Parents Fail." The gist of the story is that parents today, mothers in particular, are a bunch of self-centered brats. And our children are paying the price for our selfishness.

A woman on the sidewalk below my balcony screams at her son to get in the car "or else."

A friend is on the phone asking if I'll watch her two kids—ages two years and six months—for the weekend. I tell her I can't. Anyway, they are still nursing. How could I? Then I realize it's an emergency. My friend hasn't had a moment to herself in nearly a year and she feels as if she's about to go the way of the other headline this morning, "Mother Strangles Infant." I offer to take them for the day...

...My dictionary defines "self-centered" as "caring for yourself at the expense of others." But I know something the newspaper and the dictionary do not. I know the insanity of this hour has more to do with not being centered at all. Not being centered on the self. Not being in tune with what we need long before the panicked phone calls to friends, long before the hurtful words jump from our lips, long before we have to dream what "or else" might mean....

...The soul knows what it needs. Sometimes we need a reminder to listen, but it always knows. Trouble is, instead of reminders to take care of ourselves, we get called names in the newspaper. We do our best, we do better than our best, we push ourselves and push ourselves, and then we collapse."

From The Mother Trip by Ariel Gore. Ariel does an amazing zine called Hipmama, described as ""conservative America's worst nightmare." As with all cool projects Hipmama needs funding! Visit Hipmama.com for more info.

Jailbreak Out of History: the re-biography of Harriet Tubman by Butch Lee

available at Kersplebedeb, DP 63560, CCCP Van Horne, Montreal Quebec, Canada, H3W 3H8 http://www.kersplebedeb.com

Reviewed by Mark

Butch Lee's re-biography of Harriet Tubman is an amazing piece of writing that re-contextualizes Tubman as a "guerrilla warrior" in what was and still is a war against white-supremacy and patriarchy in North America. Jailbreak Out of History is more than a biography of Harriet Tubman. Like her previous collaboration with Red Rover, "Night-vision: Illuminating War & Class on the Neo-Colonial Terrain", Jailbreak is Butch Lee creating and illuminating new ways of understanding the social order that we live in.

Harriet Tubman has been popularized in malestream propaganda as a "rescuer" of black slaves in the late 19th century underground railway, a nurse to the Union army and a "homemaker". These images of Harriet Tubman have made her palatable to a white-supremacist/capitalist/patriarchy that wants to erase the reality that the struggle against slavery was a war of a black nation against a white nation, and to erase the militant role of black women in that war. It is this reality that Butch Lee adeptly rescues. As Butch Lee points out,

> "(s)o to trivialize Harriet Tubman the capitalist patriarchy pictures her as an idealized woman by their definition, who makes a life of helping others. Thus her deeds are squeezed into women's assigned maternal role as nurturer, helper and rescuer of men (who then go on to do the important things). But Harriet wasn't repping Mother Teresa. She wasn't even any kind of civilian at all. She was a combatant, a guerrilla, a warrior carrying pistol and rifle, fighting in her people's long war for freedom. A war that rocked the foundations of Amerikkkan society and that has never gone away."

While Butch Lee uncovers the ways in which education systems and media seek to erase the more militant and threatening history of struggles against patriarchy and racism, she also reveals the ways in which men involved in the struggle against slavery often helped to perpetuate these myths and to pursue their own agendas of keeping women down. As Lee reveals, what is often seen as being "militant" is filtered through the lens of hierarchical, patriarchal concepts of armies, with uniforms, flags and identifiable "leaders". And similarly, what is seen as subversive or "important work" is often again filtered through these authoritarian concepts. Therefore, Harriet Tubman's armed, guerrilla raids into what was essentially a slaveowning armed camp to rescue fellow New Afrikans is trivialized into almost a civil rights role as "rescuer of men". This trivialization and civilianizing of Harriet is also seen in her work building community, such as co-operative housing, when she was not running raids in the south.

There are definitely lessons here for those of us white and male who fail to see the same patterns that de-politicize and trivialize theory and activism that doesn't fit into our notions of what is "radical" and "important" work. It seems ironic that an anarchist movement that has re-emerged in the last two decades through decentralized, non-hierarchical organizing and a creative and innovative diy ethic, too often follows orthodox Marxism in looking to one-theory-fits-all analysis handed down by white, male authorities. We need to not only acknowledge the importance of struggles against patriarchy, white supremacy, colonialism, homophobia, ecological destruction, but if we are really about fighting authoritarianism in all its forms, we need to listen to theory that is coming out of these struggles and to re-make our theory into a creative process, produced from the ground up, not a template provided to us from some higher authority. Butch Lee is definitely creating theory that breaks through orthodox ways of looking at and speaking about the social order we live under. This short book is relevant and powerful and an inspiring piece of writing.

Con't from page 10

do with mere geography. This sense of a shared identity allows for the smooth functioning of a consensus decision-making process, since we start from a place of commonality. In an affinity group, almost by definition, our unity needs to take precedence over our diversity, or our supposed affinity breaks down altogether.

Compare this to what could be the most fundamental level of decision making in a society: a neighborhood or town. Now, geography plays a much larger role. Out of historic, economic, cultural, religious, and other reasons, we may find ourselves living side by side with a wide range of individuals and their various identities. Most of these people are not our friends per se. Still, the very diversity we encounter is the life of a vibrant city itself. The accidents and/or numerous personal decisions that have brought us together often create a fair amount of heterogeneity precisely because we haven't all chosen to come together for a specific reason. In this context, where we start from a place of difference, decision-making mechanisms need to be much more capable of allowing for dissent; that is, diversity needs to be clearly retained within any notions of unity. As such, majoritarian decision-making processes begin to make more sense.

Then, too, there is the question of scale. It is hard to imagine being friends with hundreds, or even thousands, of people, nor maintaining a single-issue identity with that many individuals; but we can share a feeling of community and a striving toward some common good that allows each of us to flourish. In turn, when greater numbers of people come together on a face-to-face basis to reshape their neighborhoods and towns, the issues as well as the viewpoints will multiply, and alliances will no doubt change depending on the specific topic under discussion. Thus the need for a place where we can meet as human beings at the most face-to-face level—that is, an assembly of active citizens—to share our many identities and interests in hopes of balancing both the individual and community in all we do.

As well, trust and accountability function differently at the affinity group versus civic level. We generally reveal more of ourselves to friends; and such unwritten bonds of love and affection hold us more closely together, or at least give us added impetus to work things out. Underlying this is a higher-than-average degree of trust, which serves to make us accountable to each other.

On a community-wide level, the reverse is more often true:

accountability allows us to trust each other. Hopefully, we share bonds of solidarity and respect; yet since we can't know each other well, such bonds only make sense if we first determine them together, and then record them, write them down, for all to refer back to in the future, and even revisit if need be. Accountable, democratic structures of our own making, in short, provide the foundation for trust, since the power to decide is both transparent and ever-amenable to scrutiny.

There are also issues of time and space. Affinity groups, in the scheme of things, are generally temporary configurations—they may last a few months, or a few years, but often not much longer. Once the particular reasons why we've come together have less of an immediate imperative, or as our friendships falter, such groups often fall by the wayside. And even during a group's life span, in the interim between direct actions, there is frequently no fixed place or face to decision making, nor any regularity, nor much of a record of who decided what and how. Moreover, affinity groups are not open to everyone but only those who share a particular identity or attachment. As such, although an affinity group can certainly choose to shut down a street, there is ultimately something slightly authoritarian in small groups taking matters into their own hands, no matter what their political persuasion.

Deciding what to do with streets in general—say, how to organize transportation, encourage street life, provide green space, and so on—should be a matter open to everyone interested if it is to be truly participatory and nonhierarchical. This implies ongoing and open institutions of direct democracy, for everything from decision making to conflict resolution. We need to be able to know when and where citizen assemblies are meeting; we need to meet regularly and make use of nonarbitrary procedures; we need to keep track of what decisions have been made. But more important, if we so choose, we all need to have access to the power to discuss, deliberate, and make decisions about matters that affect our communities and beyond.

Indeed, many decisions have a much wider impact than on just one city; transforming streets, for example, would probably entail coordination on a regional, continental, or even global level. Radicals have long understood such mutualistic self-reliance as a "commune of communes," or confederation. The spokescouncil model used during direct actions hints at such an alternative view of globalization. During a spokescouncil meeting, mandated delegates from our affinity groups gather for the purpose of coordination, the sharing of resources/skills, the building of solidarity, and so forth, always returning to the grassroots level as the ultimate arbiter. If popular assemblies were our basic unit of decision making, confederations of communities could serve as a way to both transcend parochialism and create interdependence where desirable. For instance, rather than global capitalism and international regulatory bodies, where trade is top-down and profit-oriented, confederations could coordinate distribution between regions in ecological and humane ways, while allowing policy in regard to production, say, to remain at the grassroots.

This more expansive understanding of a prefigurative politics would necessarily involve creating institutions that could potentially replace capitalism and nation-states. Such directly democratic institutions are compatible with, and could certainly grow out of, the ones we use during demonstrations, but they very likely won't be mirror images once we reach the level of society. This does not mean abandoning the principles and ideals undergirding the movement (such as freedom, cooperation, decentralism, solidarity, diversity, face-to-face participation, and the like); it merely means recognizing the limits of direct democracy as it is practiced in the context of a demonstration.

Any vision of a free society, if it is to be truly democratic, must of course be worked out by all of us—first in this movement, and later, in our communities and confederations. Even so, we will probably discover that newly defined understandings of citizenship are needed in place of affinity groups; majoritarian methods of decision making that strive to retain diversity are preferable to simple consensus-seeking models; written compacts articulating rights and duties are crucial to fill out the unspoken culture of protests; and institutionalized spaces for policy making are key to guaranteeing that our freedom to make decisions doesn't disappear with a line of riot police.

It is time to push beyond the oppositional character of our movement by infusing it with a reconstructive vision. That means beginning, right now, to translate our movement structure into institutions that embody the good society; in short, cultivating direct democracy in the places we call home. This will involve the harder work of reinvigorating or initiating civic gatherings, town meetings, neighborhood assemblies, citizen mediation boards, any and all forums where we can come together to decide our lives, even if only in extralegal institutions at first. Then, too, it will mean reclaiming globalization, not as a new phase of capitalism but as its replacement by confederated, directly democratic communities coordinated for mutual benefit.

It is time to move from protest to politics, from shutting down streets to opening up public space, from demanding scraps from those few in power to holding power firmly in all our hands. Ultimately, this means moving beyond the question of "Whose Streets?" We should ask instead "Whose Cities?" Then and only then will we be able to remake them as our own.

Cindy Milstein is a faculty member at the Institute for Social Ecology (see http://www.tao.ca/~ise/ for more on the ISE as well as a companion essay to this one by Ms. Milstein, "Democracy is Direct") and a board member for the Institute for Anarchist Studies (http://home.newyorknet.net/ias/intro.htm). Cindy can be reached at cbmilstein@aol.com.

Continued from page 10

Finally, not only do we have to deal with our political differences but our isms are getting in the way as well. Every mobilization I have been too has been very white. The convergence site in Washington was in a school in a low-income black neighborhood in Washington. When the police raided the convergence space they shut off the whole block. Do you imagine people were happy when they got home from work? Do you think that black neighborhoods like being over run with police more than they usually are? Privilege blinds people from seeing reality. We have to deal with this privilege and acknowledge it and then deal with it through communication. We need to stop assuming that racism and sexism and all the other isms' are entities we have to fight but see that we are consumed by those isms'. Maybe people who deal with racism on a daily bases don't want to hold our hand when in comes to racism in this movement. Maybe we should get on their bandwagon instead of assuming they will join ours. Maybe colonialization should be a topic at the top of our agenda instead of not on the agenda. If you are hunted in your neighborhood by police because of the color of your skin why would you want to sit in front of them, when your friends and family are being killed right outside your home. Maybe you just can't make it out because the systematic poverty that comes with systematic racism weighs you down. If I was fighting for things like land claims and genocide of my people, then no, I don't have time to make puppets or tell you racism still exists. Can you imagine being a person of color and trying to enter a group of thousands of white people who think they are progressive and not racist? No thanks. We need to take responsibility for where we come from; racism is in us, not around us. We have to deal with racism knowing that it is going to be a long process of decolonizing ourselves.

We also have to realize that this resistance is not a north american epiphany; the majority world has always been struggling since colonization began while North America has prospered. Their struggle is much closer to home, affecting their everyday lives. The anti-globalization movement started in Chiapas and spread all over the world for over 6 years before north America got involved. Stating things like, 'Seattle being the best protest of the decade', is the colonizer taking credit for the work of the colonized.

To conclude I do think that there is a resurgence of political action that will hopefully last long enough for us to evolve our politic. We still have to deal with some fundamental issues and that will only occur through communication and challenging each other and ourselves. We have to be true to our politic and yet willing to admit wrongs to create diversity among this movement, unify under the understanding of a common enemy and respect for each other's beliefs and then create tactics that will be effective in smashing the state before the state smashes us. We need to have patience with each other and throw away our pride and replace it with a drive to change our futures. If our goal is to change the face of history then we have to demolish a large, very old power structure that will try to murder us in the process. We have the power to sustain life.

giddy

Continued from page 5....

younger workers reduces the free time that "breeds shiftlessness, discontents and ultimately disorder."[5]

In supporting unemployment insurance and other social programs corporate motivation was saving the bottom line and maintaining the existing order. A fact understood by Bennett who wrote that "...(a) good deal of pruning is sometimes necessary to save a tree and ...there is considerable pruning to be done if we are to preserve the fabric of the capitalist system."[6]

The resulting welfare state did result in some victories for the working-class. Union rights to collective bargaining were guaranteed and income support for the unemployed were introduced. But more radical demands for a redistribution of wealth and power were ignored or violently put down. Statistics Canada figures show that between 1951 and 1972 the distribution of wealth in Canada remained virtually unchanged.[7]

Nor were these "victories" evenly distributed. The Canadian settler state had come into being through the theft of indigenous territories and attempted genocide of indegenous people and their cultures. The result was a white working-class that often saw its interests in not only fighting capital but also protecting its own relatively priveleged status within the colonial state. During the first half of the 20th century most Canadian unions openly identified themselves as "white" unions and most had manifestoes that actively excluded Asian and East Indian workers[8], who were also facing reduced immigration and a $1000 head tax imposed by the state.

Working-class women were also excluded from most union victories in the new welfare state. While women were encouraged to take previously denied industrial jobs during world war II, at the end of the war a campaign began to force women out of these jobs; a campaign that included advertisers promoting "happy" housewives waiting at home for their husbands, as well as social democratic calls for a living "family wage" that would "allow" working-class women to remain in the home. White, male workers, essentially gave tacit consent to protecting their privileges within the new order.

Programs For Assimilation: Inside The New Welfare State

Within the welfare state itself program users would be administered by an authoritarian state requiring neither consultation nor consent. The growth of hierarchical corporate and state administrative bureaucracies in the 20th century served to distance "decision makers" from those most affected by their policies, creating a more dehumanized and alienated "clientele". Responsibility for the consequences of policies also became more detached from workers as state action was continually broken down into the performing of often disconnected, mundane tasks.

Those who depended on state income support received grossly inadequate income in exchange for control over personal lives unheard of in waged labor. Unemployment insurance and welfare would function not to relieve poverty but would be harsh enough to assimilate unemployed workers back into the capitalist economy.

Income programs also functioned to assimilate women into patriarchal family structures, either by denying women independent sources of income or in the case of single-mothers, offering income that was so low as to encourage remarriage. Unemployment Insurance was denied to married women because once they lost their jobs they were not unemployed but now "housewives". Welfare policy dictated that if a women took up residence with a man she would be cut off and the man would reapply in *his* name, thereby maintaining the patriarchal fiction of "man as breadwinner".

After conducting public hearings in 1976, the Senate Committee on Poverty would admit that welfare had a "record of failure and insufficiency, of bureaucratic rigidities that often result in the degradation, humiliation and alienation of recipients."[9]

During the 1960s and 70s social programs expanded to include subsidized post-secondary education and universal health care. The introduction of universal health care followed a pattern of physician controlled health care that had developed over the 20th century. Medical associations had used the state to help push out competing "non-scientific" and non-Western forms of medicine and had monopolized the production and distribution of "legitimate" medical knowledge. This form of medical "knowledge" would make the patient the passive recipient of the physician's "clinical eye" within a hospital system that had transformed from a place of isolation and exclusion to the physician's place of work; a bureaucratic jungle of technological hierarchies which replicated a patriarchal military with patronizing white, male experts overseeing a mass of uniformed, overworked and undervalued women. In fact, control over the Canadian health care system would formally be in the hands of the state but actual control would remain in the hands of physicians and pharmaceutical and medical supply multinationals.

The growth of the education system continued from the seeds planted by the 19th century reform movements. The structure of public education from elementary to post-secondary would promote the assimilation of children and adults into the patterns, values and beliefs necessary to participate within the social order. School days from 8 to 3, with breaks and lunch, mimicked the temporal patterns of waged labor. Silent regurgitation of unquestioned truths legitimizing the supremacy of wealth, patriarchy and Western culture prepared students for citizenship within authoritarian state, capitalist and family structures. As the "Report of the Commission on the Relations Between Universities and Governments" inadvertently revealed in 1970 "...the system of education, of which the university is an integral part, aims at producing complete citizens, that is citizens who ...know and accept the fundamental values of society and know how to conform with them in their daily life." [10]

The Price of "Victory"

It did appear that the problems of over-production and class conflict were resolved by the post-war welfare state. The post war economies of North America, Europe and Japan entered 25 years of economic boom, real wages almost tripled in Canada and unemployment remained low. What remained of autonomous working-class culture dissolved into the ideological smoke and mirrors of "equality of opportunity" and both unions and their political organizations embraced consumer capitalism and purged their more radical elements. The missing element in the early educational mechanism of adverting was now found in the increased wages and income support offered by the welfare state and in the new, more powerful medium of television to create a consumer culture that wove seamlessly through every social relationship.

But behind the veneer of this "golden age" of consumption were often overlooked sources for this economic boom. Equally important as welfare state economic policies were Western neo-colonialist control over cheap supplies of oil in the middle-east and artificially low prices for other raw materials from the third world; the starvation level wages in Western owned third world factories that kept prices low on Western consumed products; and the growth of the U.S. military industrial complex, in part the result of foreign policies designed to maintain the above neo-colonialist conditions.

In North America the cost of industrial expansion was also kept down through Department of Indian Affairs in Canada and Bureau of Indian Affairs in the U.S., continued control over indigenous territory, which after 100 years of Indian Act policies was now being appropriated for hydro projects, resource extraction and the dumping of radioactive waste. One study found that as of 1984 U.S. indigenous peoples were receiving an average of 3.4% of the market value of uranium extracted from their land, 1.6% of oil, 1.3% for natural gas and less than 2% for coal.[11]

Nor does the cost of this "economic boom" include the destruction of rain forests, the toxic pollution of land, air and waterways, radioactive contamination, the release of CFCs into the atmosphere or the loss of tens of thousands of lives to support military industries. The glitter of this golden age may have lined the pockets of the privileged but for many it was a disaster.

While most capitalists benefited from this economic binge, not all supported the welfare state that helped to induce it. From the start those corporations integrated into the international economy feared the cost of social programs and higher wages would hurt their competitive positions. It was the reaction of these corporations to the welfare state and to the resurgent radicalism of the 1960s that would cause the state to turn away from social programs and cause the economic and political landscape to undergo a decisive shift.

Conclusion

Behind the liberal myth of a benevolent welfare state autonomous from social and economic power emerges a picture of an institution that grew as an instrument to pacify and control resistance to that power. Whether attempting to counter resistance to colonialism, patriarchy or capitalism, the objective of state action was to undermine cultural and individual autonomy and resistance to the social order. In this light, nostalgia by some on the left for the post-war boom years and calls to defend the "welfare state" begs the question exactly what do these people want to go back to? Another economic binge built on war, colonialism and ecological destruction? More alienating, degrading and controlling social programs? A bigger more powerful state to be used as an instrument for those who rule us?

Its one thing to defend or demand access to state controlled resources, while acknowledging what the state is. Radical workers have always fought for better working conditions while fighting to replace capitalism. But it is another thing to perpetuate a mythical picture of the state in the interests of maintaining solidarity with our "progressive" allies.

After years of social-democratic/liberal assimilationist policies that have left the people with little more than betrayal and cynicism and facing a stronger, more global capitalist, white-supremacist, patriarchal order, now more than ever we need to expose the myths of this system and build alternatives to these authoritarian structures.

Notes:

1."Capitalism, Class and Educational Reform", Stephen Schecter in The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, Ed. Leo Panitch

2."Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy", John L. Tobias in Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, #6

3.Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer, Stuart Ewan

4."Origins of the Welfare State in Canada", Alvin Finkle in The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, Ed. Leo Panitch

5.Ibid

6.Ibid

7.Ibid

8.Last Steps To Freedom: The Evolution of Canadian Racism, John Boyko,

9.Senate Committee On Poverty, Federal Government of Canada,

10.The University, Society and Government: The Report of the Commission on the Relations Between Universities and Governments, Rene Hurturise and D. Roway

11.Struggle For the Land, Ward Churchill

Other Sources

Social Structure and Bureaucratic Discourse, Kathy Ferguson

Canadian Health Care & The State, Ed. C. David Naylor

Health, Illness & Medicine in Canada, Juanne Nancarrow Clarke

"Mom, Dad and the kids: towards a modern architecture of daily life Industrialization and the Family", by Stuart Ewen, Advertising and Society Review

Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat, J. Sakai

Continued from page 1...

question was never answered by this inquest: not by the Coroner, not by the jury. Were all 8 mistaken? Were all eight lying? Was the police officer lying?

Of equal importance was what the police didn't do when Anthany was known to be in intensive care after his cardiac arrest. Virtually no notes were made by the officer who had contact with Anthany. He did those several days later.

No thorough door-to-door canvas was done to discover exactly what citizens may have seen on Oak Bay Avenue.

As a result, 5 of the 8 citizens who saw Anthany punched were located by a private detective hired by the family. One was left to wonder what investigation would have happened if the family had not been so determined to find out the truth.

Should it be up to private citizens to hire their own investigators to find out what the police are paid to find out? What happens when the family doesn't have the resources or the information to immediately investigate for themselves?

Nancy Dawson wrote in a June 19th letter to the Premier of British Columbia and the provincial Attorney General, "My family and community have a great need to see an open and transparent process. This is especially true in light of the perception that the 'system' is stacked against us as Aboriginal Peoples." She never received an adequate response to her concerns, "I believe there is a need for timely, comprehensive information being made available to my family, the Aboriginal community, the media and the general public;'in order to ensure that at a minimum 'justice is seen to be done'."

At the inquest much salt was rubbed into the wounds during testimony from the use-of-force expert who appeared on behalf of the police. Essentially he testified that it was OK to punch citizens in order to gain control over them. Such a wide range of forceful responses was "reasonable" with little regard to whether they were really necessary. Furthermore, arrestee safety was not part of the equation. Anthany's well being, his condition, himself as a human being seemed to be dismissed.

When one remembers that Anthany was laying there, ill, on Oak Bay Avenue when he was punched, it seems particularly cruel to refer to the police action as "reasonable."

The police behaviour toward its citizens was never fully resolved by this inquest. John Orr, is quoted in the local paper as saying the most disappointing aspect of the inquest was the "drawbridge mentality" of the Victoria Police Department when they came under public attack by the Dawson family. Orr said the police should have reached out to the Aboriginal community to try to undo the damage, and should have been "open and forthright and forthcoming".

Nancy Dawson's efforts to shine the light of justice on the Victoria Police Department must await the Police Complaints procedure -- another "foreign" process which is still available to the family.

Others have suggested there are better and more appropriate ways to do the right thing -- so we all can answer Anthany's question, "Why Did I Die?".

In a March 7th letter to the British Columbia Government, Union of BC Indian Chiefs President Stewart Phillip called for an independent investigation to determine "if human rights violations have occurred ... subsequently if it is deemed that police have violated the human rights of Anthany Dawson then appropriate charges must be laid at once".

The Aboriginal community has provided the Dawson family with an absolute commitment of support and will continue to watch as developments unfold. Others watch too because Anthany's question is not asked in isolation.

An international gathering of Warriors Societies this month in Kenora, Ontario will consider long term strategies to help our young people who are subjected to racism and abuse at the hands of authorities.